



WSJ

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WEEKEND



What's News

World-Wide

Biden's call during the final presidential debate to transition away from the oil industry injected an energy argument into the closing days of his race against Trump, which had been dominated by the pandemic and its economic fallout. **A1**

◆ **The daily number** of new coronavirus infections reported in the U.S. rose to the highest level since July as cases spread across communities in every region of the country. **A1**

◆ **Paused studies** of leading coronavirus vaccine candidates from AstraZeneca and Johnson & Johnson are resuming, the companies said. **A2**

◆ **The Trump administration** plans a pre-election volley of sanctions against Iran intended in part to fortify its pressure campaign against any future effort to unwind it. **A1**

◆ **Israel and Sudan** agreed to normalize ties in a U.S.-brokered deal, the White House said, with the African nation joining a broader diplomatic realignment affecting the Middle East. **A6**

◆ **Democrats said** the White House needs to get Senate Republicans on board with a coronavirus stimulus package, while Trump said Pelosi is dragging out talks for political benefit. **A3**

Business & Finance

◆ **CNN President Zucker's** contract expires next year and he hasn't committed to extending his deal in meetings with WarnerMedia brass and communications with CNN employees, according to people familiar with the situation. **A1**

◆ **Pressure is mounting** on China's Huawei, as growth slows amid tightening U.S. restrictions on its chip supplies and as more countries shun its 5G gear. **B1**

◆ **The S&P 500** logged a 0.5% loss for the week, snapping a three-week winning streak, while the Dow and Nasdaq each shed about 1%. **B12**

◆ **Yale's endowment chief** has told the firms that manage the school's money to hire more women and minorities or risk losing the university's backing. **B1**

◆ **Facebook is demanding** that a New York University research project cease collecting data about its political-ad targeting practices. **B3**

◆ **McDonald's** asked a judge to dismiss a suit accusing it of selling Black owners sub-par stores and failing to support their businesses. **B3**

◆ **Wirecard's bankruptcy** administrator has sold the failed German fintech's U.S. operations to Texas-based Syncapay. **B3**

NOONAN

A Good Night For Trump If It's Not Over **A13**

CONTENTS	Sports..... A10
Books..... C7-12	Style & Fashion D2-3
Food..... D7	Travel..... D4-5
Heard on Street..... B13	U.S. News..... A2-3
Markets..... B12	Weather..... A10
Obituaries..... A8	Wknd Investor..... B5
Opinion..... A11-13	World News..... A6-7



Salt Lake County Health Department public-health nurses at a coronavirus testing site on Friday. Utah's cases have jumped.

New U.S. Covid Cases Rise To Highest Levels Since July

By JENNIFER CALFAS AND SARAH KROUSE

The daily number of new coronavirus infections reported in the U.S. rose to its highest level since July as cases spread across communities in every region of the country, including remote areas that hadn't yet been hard hit.

Epidemiologists and public-health researchers have said a number of factors, from pandemic fatigue to the return of college students to campuses

and more social gatherings, are contributing to the latest rise in cases. The recent increases are affecting broader swaths of the U.S. than the spring and summer surges, when outbreaks were heavily concentrated in a handful of states.

"Outbreaks spread just like a fire," said Emily Landon, an infectious-disease expert at the University of Chicago Medicine. "The more people are sick, the more people will be sick the next day."

There are now more cases per 100,000 people in non-metropolitan counties than there are in metropolitan areas, according to a Wall Street Journal analysis of Johns Hopkins University and Census Bureau data. That is a shift from earlier in the pandemic, when there were more cases per 100,000 people in metropolitan areas than non-metropolitan areas.

"People had hoped that in the summer it would get better and it did for a short pe-

riod, and then as we engaged in communities it increased again," said Randall Williams, director of the Missouri Department of Health and Senior Services. Dr. Williams said the virus has spread in his state to areas with populations of 50,000 to 75,000, while it was previously most prevalent in dense urban areas like St. Louis. Those who test positive

Please turn to page A2

◆ **Two suspended Covid vaccine studies** set to resume..... **A2**

Energy, Climate Get Fresh Focus In Race

Biden's call to wean the U.S. off oil raises the issue in the final days of a stable campaign

By TARINI PARTI

Democrat Joe Biden's call during the final presidential debate to transition away from the oil industry injected an energy argument into the closing days of his race against President Trump, which for months had been dominated by the coronavirus pandemic and its economic fallout.

Some Democrats running in oil-rich states distanced themselves from Mr. Biden's comments. Groups opposed to the dangers of climate change cheered them. Mr. Trump, for his part, highlighted the issue in a rally Friday by tweeting a video that his campaign has shown that includes edited clips of Mr. Biden talking about fracking. The practice, which allows oil and gas to be extracted from shale rock, has become a source of friction between the oil-and-gas industry and environmentalists, and some in the Democratic Party have called for banning it.

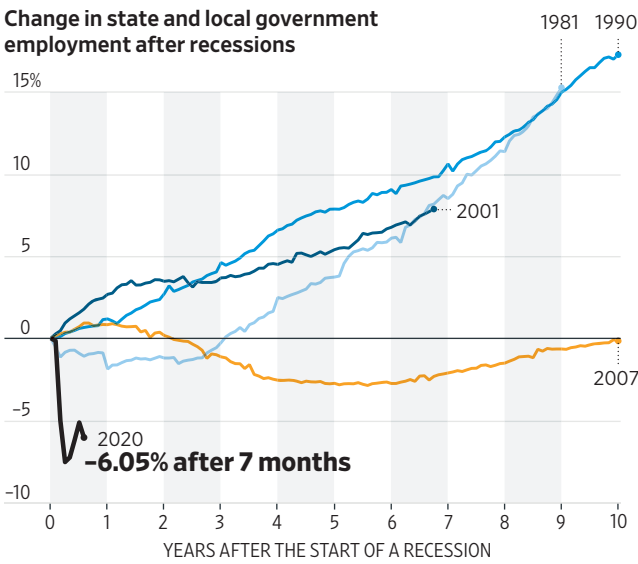
The exchange during Thursday night's debate added a new wrinkle to a presidential race that while bitter has seemed relatively stable. National polls have shown Mr. Biden, the chal-

Please turn to page A5

◆ **Pennsylvania battleground** feels pandemic ripples..... **A4**

Stimulus Delay Sows Worries

Economic policy makers are concerned that putting off more aid will lead to a slow recovery like the one after the 2008 slump. **A3**



In Tight Market, Houses Can Come With Skeletons or Cats

Home sellers with the upper hand are asking for unusual contingencies

By TE-PING CHEN

Some houses have skeletons in their closets. For Jessica Mack, the skeleton was hanging by the front door.

A first-time buyer in the Philadelphia area, Ms. Mack, 26 years old, had been browsing property listings for months before finding one in September that looked just right: a cozy Cape Cod, with a nice lawn.

"It wasn't too big, it wasn't too small. It was cute," she says.

And yet for years, the

house's owner had hung a fake skeleton outside her front door in all seasons, regularly swapping out its attire. Some days it wore a white blouse, on others, a green bodysuit. The owner said she would accept Ms. Mack's offer if she would maintain the tradition, 365 days of the year.

It was the third house Ms. Mack, a local utilities worker, had bid on. She said yes.

A typical sales contract comes with various contingencies, such as ones that allow buyers to back out if they

Please turn to page A9

CNN's Jeff Zucker Faces His Possible Last Lap

Polarizing cable boss felt blindsided by overhaul of AT&T unit

CNN President Jeff Zucker survived plenty of corporate intrigue since telecom giant AT&T swallowed up the cable network's parent company two years ago.

By Benjamin Mullin, Joe Flint and Drew FitzGerald

Now that is changing, leaving Mr. Zucker frustrated and his future at the cable news network in doubt.

Mr. Zucker, who has overseen CNN for seven years, felt blindsided by a recent restructuring carried out by parent WarnerMedia, and has had friction with its chief executive, Jason Kilar, according to people

familiar with the situation.

The 55-year-old's contract expires next year and he hasn't committed to extending his deal in meetings with WarnerMedia brass and communications with CNN employees, the people say.

Asked about his future in a town hall video chat on Wednesday, Mr. Zucker said he loves his job, but added, "The industry is changing, our company is changing, so I have a lot to think about," according to a recording of his remarks. He added, "I'll do that at the right time."

Mr. Zucker said he won't make a decision on whether to stay at CNN until after the election.

Please turn to page A9

Trump Plans Sanctions To Entrench Iran Policy

By IAN TALLEY

WASHINGTON—The Trump administration plans a pre-election volley of sanctions against Iran intended in part to fortify its pressure campaign against any future effort to unwind it, according to people familiar with the matter.

With former Vice President Joe Biden leading in most national and battleground state polls, Trump administration officials fear his plan to re-engage with Iran could upend the diplomatic leverage they believe is critical to strong-arm Tehran into signing a new nuclear and security deal.

The Trump administration has levied some sanctions un-

der counterterrorism authorities, which analysts view as the most potentially difficult to undo. The administration previewed further planned action, according to the people, in calling out sectors it views as critical to financing Iran's terror-linked activities, including the petrochemical and metals industries, but highlighting Iran's energy sector in particular.

Even if potential new targets are already under existing sanctions, current and former officials say blacklisting them again under terror powers

Please turn to page A7

◆ **Iraq is hurdle to enforcing** Iran oil sanctions..... **A7**

INSIDE



TEAM OF RIVALS

Why competing drug companies are working together in the race for a coronavirus vaccine. **B1**

VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM

U.S. NEWS

THE NUMBERS | By Jo Craven McGinty

Virus Death Projections Get More Reliable

 In March, estimates of how many Americans would die from Covid-19 in the coming months ranged from 81,000 to 2.2 million. That disparity—which arguably produced as much confusion as insight—prompted one independent data scientist to build his own model in hopes of arriving at a better forecast. (He did.) Now, as many as 50 different research groups make predictions, but one of the most accurate assembles all of the individual models, calculates the median value and looks no more than four weeks into the future.

The ensemble forecast was founded by the Reich Lab at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, in collaboration with the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and is based in part on models previously developed to fore-

cast influenza and other infectious diseases. In the next four weeks, it predicts the total number of deaths attributed to the new coronavirus will surpass 240,000—adding roughly 17,000 deaths to the current tally. Such projections help policy makers and health-care officials decide how to manage resources and implement or relax interventions intended to curb the spread of the disease. “It gives you guideposts,” said Jeffrey Shaman, an infectious-disease modeler at the Mailman School of Public Health at Columbia University. “Are you going in a bad or good direction? Is it under control?” But even now, the projections of individual models sometimes differ substantially, according to Michael Johansson, co-leader of the CDC’s Covid-19 modeling team. In June, one model predicted that by July, the death toll would top 263,000.

Another anticipated that it would be less than 120,000. By focusing on the median, the ensemble forecast has consistently provided reliable four-week projections. In this case, its projection was 130,558, and the actual figure was 130,089. “That’s been one of the big advantages,” Dr. Johansson said. “By leveraging all the information from all the model approaches, we get forecasts that are demonstrably robust.” The Covid-19 Forecast Hub is the central repository for individual forecasts. Those included in the ensemble—currently more than 40—are probabilistic forecasts that look four weeks into the future; provide a point estimate of the expected number of deaths in the period; and include the range within which the actual number will likely fall with prediction intervals of 95% and 50%. The ranges for each fore-

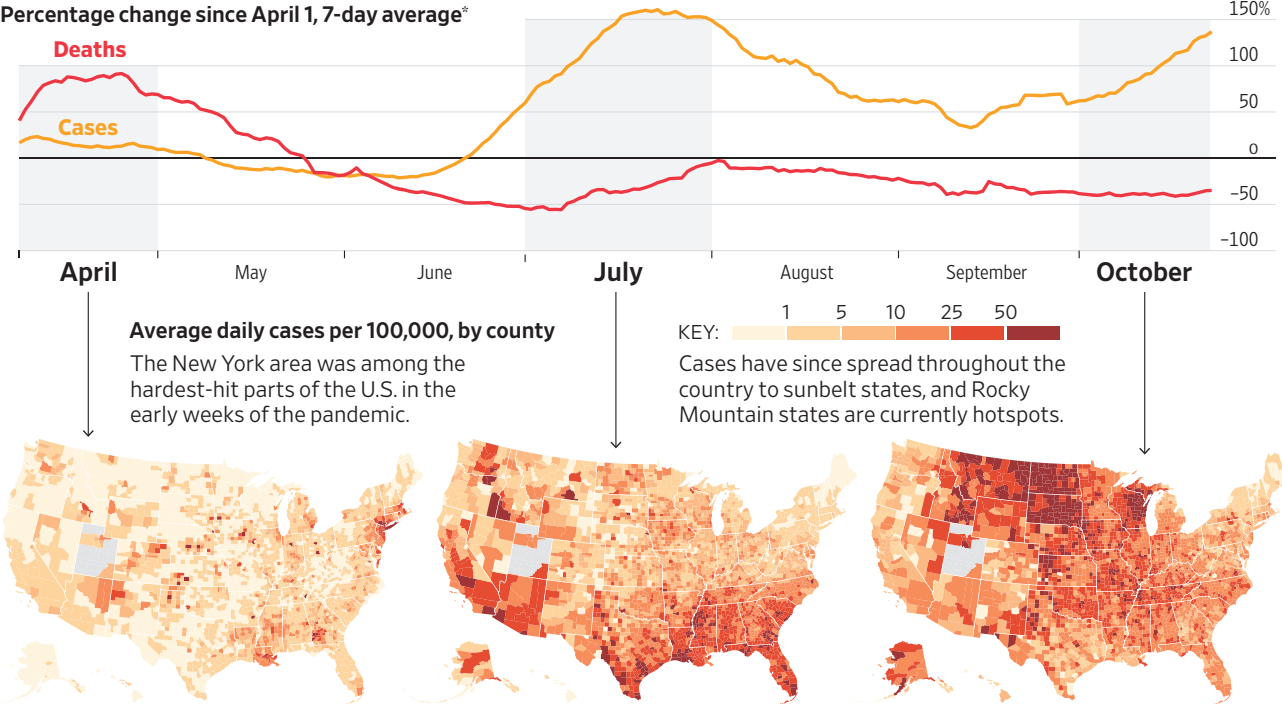
cast are divided into 23 quantiles. The Hub calculates the median for each quantile, and the ensemble forecast is the median of those values. “Because of previous work, we know you don’t want to exclude models unless there is a clear reason to do so,” Dr. Johansson said. “They capture different things.” By confining the forecasts to the short term, changes in policy or public behavior are also less likely to upset the projections. In contrast, the earlier models tried to predict the number of deaths that would occur months later. “Forecasts beyond a relatively short prediction window are not going to be very robust,” Dr. Johansson said. “You can model trajectories beyond that, but it’s hard to have confidence in what will happen when so many things are changing.” The sprawling range of the early estimates is also explained in part by their different assumptions.

A high projection by Imperial College of London depended on the absence of any interventions that might mitigate the spread of the disease, while a low estimate by the University of Washington Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation depended on widespread interventions. “We assumed everybody would have a problem, and those having a problem would do something about it,” said Ali Mokdad, a professor of health metrics sciences at IHME. Reality fell somewhere in between: Some states implemented protective measures, such as stay-at-home orders and mask mandates, and some didn’t. Seeing the disparate estimates early on, Youyang Gu, an independent data scientist, attempted to improve on the projections by developing his own model, and over time, it came to be regarded by many as the best individual forecast, accord-

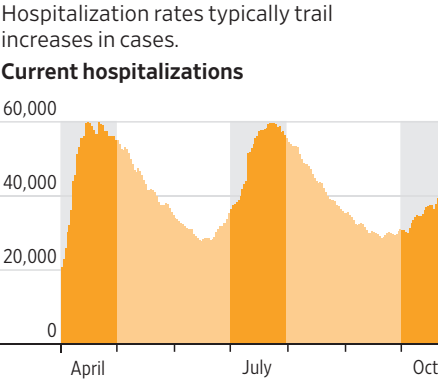
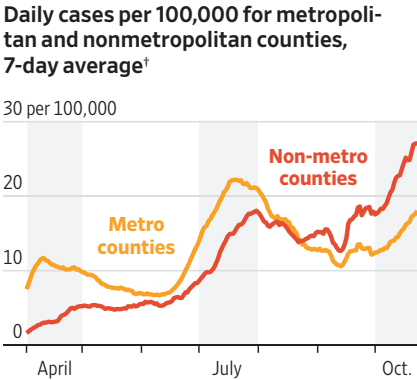
ing to Jarad Niemi, an associate professor in the statistics department at Iowa State University who works on the ensemble forecast. But now, given the number and quality of available models, Mr. Gu has decided to stop making projections. “When I started, there were around five models,” he said. “Now there are over 40. A lot of others are doing great work. The ensemble is the one I recommend the most. It’s unquestionably the best.” Because the ensemble forecast includes so many different models, losing one—even a very good one—shouldn’t diminish its general performance, according to Mr. Gu, Dr. Niemi and the CDC. “Having many, many groups helps make the system withstand changes,” said Matthew Biggerstaff, co-leader of the CDC’s Covid-19 modeling team. “The whole system won’t collapse.”

Where the Virus is Spreading

Cases of the virus are now rising, hitting broader swaths of the country and remote places it had not yet reached. Deaths, meanwhile, have declined since the early weeks of the pandemic, but remained largely flat in recent weeks.



There are now more cases per 100,000 people in non-metropolitan counties than there are in metropolitan areas, a shift from earlier in the pandemic. Notes: Mapped cases are through Oct. 22. Data not available for certain counties in Utah *Includes cases and deaths in U.S. territories, Grand Princess and Diamond Princess †Metropolitan counties defined as a city over 50,000 people, plus surrounding suburban counties. Sources: Johns Hopkins University (cases, deaths); Covid Tracking (hospitalizations); USDA (county classifications); Census Bureau (population) Elbert Wang, Jessica Wang, Alberto Cervantes, Sarah Krouse, Taylor Umlauf and Lindsay Huth/ THE WALL STREET JOURNAL



New Covid Cases Rise Across U.S.

Continued from Page One are now increasingly in their 30s and 40s, a shift from the summer, when more 18- to 24-year-olds tested positive, he said. Hospitalizations have increased by 17% in neighboring Illinois in the last week, said Gov. J.B. Pritzker during a news conference Friday as he urged residents to follow preventive measures like mask-wearing and social distancing. Ngozi Ezike, director of the Illinois Department of Public Health, teared up Friday as she announced the number of new coronavirus cases and deaths in the state. “If you’re talking about Covid fatigue from having to keep wearing a mask, think about the Covid fatigue for health-care workers, respiratory therapists who are going to have to go through this whole episode again of trying to fight for peoples’ lives because we couldn’t figure out how to control this virus by doing some of the simple measures that have been prescribed,” Dr. Ezike said. The U.S. reported 71,671 new cases Thursday, according to data compiled by Johns Hopkins University, the most in a single day since July 24, when it hit 73,107, and the fourth-highest single-day total overall. As of Friday evening,

Johns Hopkins was reporting 65,145 new cases for the day. Since the pandemic began, more than 8.44 million infections have been reported in the U.S. and more than 223,300 Americans have died, according to Johns Hopkins data. World-wide, more than 41.8 million cases have been reported, and nearly 1.14 million people have died. Epidemiologists anticipated an increase of cases in the fall as cooler weather brings people indoors, where there is a higher risk of transmission. But this surge is coming earlier than many expected. Epidemiologists say the persistently high level of cases in the U.S. was partly due to the lack of a national strategy. “Instead of asking these questions about what we’re seeing across the United States, we’re just kind of saying go back to work, ignore everything...which I think is the wrong message to send,” said Dr. Landon. From September to October, Covid-19 cases have risen in all regions, but the rise has been particularly acute in the Midwest and the Rocky Mountains. On Thursday, six states from those regions—Colorado, Indiana, Montana, Ohio, Oklahoma and Utah—each hit a record high of new cases, according to Johns Hopkins figures. Other regions haven’t been exempt. New York and New Jersey, which made strides against the virus over the summer, were two of 15 states that reported more than 1,000 new cases Thursday. Seven other states reported more than 2,000 new infec-

tions Thursday. Cases in two summer hot spots, California and Florida, ticked back up above 5,000 Thursday. In 44 states, cases were increasing at a faster pace this week than the week prior, according to a Wall Street Journal analysis of data from Johns Hopkins. A month ago, that was the case in 33 states. The rising number of cases nationally has been accompanied by an uptick in hospitalizations, which have increased by 33% since Oct. 1. On Thursday, 41,010 people were being treated in hospitals with Covid-19, the most on a single day since late August, according to data from the Covid Tracking Project. Deaths have not yet surged in the same way, increasing 7% since the beginning of the month. However, there are indications fatalities may be rising. More than 850 deaths

were reported Thursday, according to Johns Hopkins data, down from more than 1,100 a day before. As of Thursday, the seven-day moving average of deaths had reached 763, the highest level in a month. Deaths can lag behind a surge in cases by six weeks or more. But fatalities are far below the highs seen in April, when the seven-day average topped 2,200 daily deaths. Health experts say a combination of earlier detection, better treatment and a younger population contracting the virus has led to a lower death rate than earlier in the pandemic. According to Johns Hopkins, the U.S. case-fatality rate—the percentage of cases that end in death—is 2.7%. —Anthony DeBarros and Jon Kamp contributed to this article.

CORRECTIONS & AMPLIFICATIONS

The first name of Christopher Krebs, the director of the U.S. Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency, was misspelled as Christophe in a U.S. News article Friday about Russian hacking efforts. In some editions Friday, Uber Technologies Inc. Chief Executive Dara Khosrowshahi’s last name was misspelled as Khorsorwshahi in a Business & Finance article about a California appeals court’s decision. The home of Danny Elfman and Bridget Fonda is in the gated community of Fremont Place in Los Angeles. A Mansion article Friday about the property incorrectly said Fremont Park. Notice to readers Wall Street Journal staff members are working remotely during the pandemic. For the foreseeable future, please send reader comments only by email or phone, using the contacts below, not via U.S. Mail.

Readers can alert The Wall Street Journal to any errors in news articles by emailing wsjcontact@wsj.com or by calling 888-410-2667.

Two Paused Vaccine Studies Are Restarting

By THOMAS M. BURTON AND PETER LOFTUS

Paused studies of leading Covid-19 vaccine candidates from AstraZeneca PLC and Johnson & Johnson are resuming, the companies said. The restarts mean testing of two of the most advanced Covid-19 vaccines in development can get back on track after their testing had been sidetracked. The testing is crucial for regulators to evaluate whether the vaccines safely protect against the virus and should be given widely. The U.S. Food and Drug Administration had wrapped up an examination of two cases of a possible neurological side effect that emerged in two people in studies testing AstraZeneca’s shot, and said a late-stage trial in the U.S. can resume, according to the company. The AstraZeneca decision, which was first reported by The Wall Street Journal, came after the FDA didn’t find the vaccine was responsible for the two cases, though the agency couldn’t rule out a link either, a person familiar with the matter said. The agency plans to require researchers to inform study subjects of the cases and monitor them for any related neurological events, such as numbness, the person said. J&J said it is preparing to resume a large clinical trial of its experimental Covid-19 vaccine, saying it has found no evidence the vaccine caused a serious medical event in a study volunteer. “Based on the information gathered to date and the input of independent experts, the Company has found no evidence that the vaccine candidate caused the event,” J&J said in a statement. J&J said it is taking steps to resume the late-stage trial of its vaccine in the U.S. on the recommendation of a panel of independent drug-research experts recommendation. The company said it also is in discussion with regulators in other countries to re-

sume testing there. Before its testing halt, J&J had said its vaccine could be authorized early next year. Meanwhile, AstraZeneca’s vaccine, which the company is developing with the University of Oxford, was on pace to be cleared for wide use by the end of this year if it proves to work safely in testing. Last month, however, AstraZeneca paused trials testing its shot around the world, including in the U.S., after a U.K. woman developed a mysterious neurological illness. A U.S. health official had said the event involved a spinal cord problem. The illness followed a pause in testing in July after an unexplained illness of a trial subject. Researchers initially told subjects in the study the case involved a neurological disorder known as transverse myelitis. AstraZeneca later said the case turned out to be multiple sclerosis unrelated to the vaccine, and the testing resumed. Studies testing the vaccine around the world later resumed after regulators outside the U.S. determined it was safe to do so. However, a late-stage trial in the U.S. remained on hold because the FDA was still investigating the two events. The FDA had spent weeks exploring whether the two cases involved transverse myelitis and whether the vaccine was responsible for the illness, the person said. Reuters had earlier reported the U.S. trial could resume this week. Cases are rare, with only about 1,400 diagnosed annually in the U.S. The cause is unknown. —Joseph Walker contributed to this article.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

(USPS 664-880) (Eastern Edition ISSN 0099-9660)
(Central Edition ISSN 1092-0935) (Western Edition ISSN 0193-2241)

Editorial and publication headquarters: 1211 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 10036
Published daily except Sundays and general legal holidays.
Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and other mailing offices.

Postmaster: Send address changes to The Wall Street Journal, 200 Burnett Rd., Chicopee, MA 01020.

All Advertising published in The Wall Street Journal is subject to the applicable rate card, copies of which are available from the Advertising Services Department, Dow Jones & Co. Inc., 1211 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 10036. The Journal reserves the right not to accept an advertiser's order. Only publication of an advertisement shall constitute final acceptance of the advertiser's order.

Letters to the Editor: Fax: 212-416-2891; email: wsjltrs@wsj.com

Need assistance with your subscription?
By web: customercenter.wsj.com; By email: wsjsupport@wsj.com
By phone: 1-800-JOURNAL (1-800-568-7625)

Reprints & licensing:
By email: customreprints@dowjones.com
By phone: 1-800-843-0008

WSJ back issues and framed pages: wsjshop.com

Our newspapers are 100% sourced from sustainably certified mills.

GOT A TIP FOR US? SUBMIT IT AT WSJ.COM/TIPS

U.S. NEWS

Colorado Wildfires Force Thousands From Homes

Thousands of residents evacuated Northern Colorado under plumes of smoke and orange-and-red skies, fleeing two fires burning around the Rocky Mountain National Park that by Friday had capped one of the state's worst-ever fire seasons.

One of the fires spread more than 100,000 acres in a 24-hour period between Wednesday and Thursday, burning houses, threatening resort towns and overwhelming firefighters with its speed and destruction. Officials closed the Rocky Mountain National Park.

The fires now burning, and the Pine Gulch Fire this summer, rank among the four largest wildfires in Colorado history, fueled by climate change and poor forest management, said fire scientist Mark Finney with the U.S. Forest Service Fire Sciences Laboratory in Montana.

The Cameron Peak Fire, burning for more than two months, is the state's largest fire in history, having scorched just under 207,000 acres since Aug. 13. An approaching cold front this week-end is expected to drop snow on some of the burning areas.

Colorado's fire season is supposed to be over by now, said Tina Boehle, of the National Interagency Fire Center in Idaho. "Usually, snow is starting to fly mid-October. But If the vegetation is available to burn, it will burn."

Tens of thousands of residents have fled the Cameron Peak Fire and thousands of others were evacuated in the East Troublesome blaze. Among the communities evacuated in recent days was the resort town of Estes Park, a gateway to Rocky Mountain National Park. Officials were still conducting assessments, but dozens of homes were believed lost.

At right, Colorado Gov. Jared Polis on Friday comforted Irene Galicia-Coleman, who is a resident of Grand Lake and was evacuated from her home earlier this week, during a visit with evacuees of the East Troublesome fire on Friday.

—Donald Morrison



Both Sides Trade Jabs As Relief Talks Stall

By NATALIE ANDREWS AND ANDREW RESTUCCIA

WASHINGTON—Democrats said the White House needs to work harder to get Senate Republicans on board with a coronavirus stimulus package, while President Trump said House Speaker Nancy Pelosi is dragging out talks for political benefit, highlighting the tensions that have blocked a deal for months.

After reporting incremental progress in recent days, the parties appeared no closer to a deal on Friday as the finger-pointing intensified and Election Day approached. Many on Capitol Hill are becoming increasingly resigned that the nearly \$2 trillion package under discussion won't be seriously considered until next month, and potentially not until next year.

"The fact is that the president has been back and forth," said Mrs. Pelosi, a California Democrat, on MSNBC on Friday. "He has to talk to the Senate Republicans."

At Thursday night's debate, Democratic presidential nominee Joe Biden faulted Mr. Trump for not being more involved in the stimulus negotiations. "Instead of in a sand trap at his golf course, he should have been negotiating with Nancy Pelosi and the rest of the Democrats and Republicans," Mr. Biden said, adding later, "Why isn't he talking to his Republican friends?"

Mr. Trump expressed pessimism that a deal can be inked before the election. He blamed Mrs. Pelosi in the debate, saying she "doesn't want to approve anything because she'd love to have some victories" on Election Day.

In comments to reporters Friday, Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin said Mrs. Pelosi "on a number of issues is still dug in."

Administration officials acknowledge that Senate Republicans remain a major roadblock to passing a deal with a high price tag.

The latest round of stimulus talks were complicated by a White House operating largely separate from congressional Republicans. Eager to reach a deal that might help boost re-election prospects, Mr. Trump empowered Mr. Mnuchin to negotiate a far larger and more expensive deal than most Senate Republicans could accept.

"There seems to be a bit of a disconnect" between Republicans and the White House, Sen. Kevin Cramer (R., N.D.) said.

Democrats are set to pick up more House seats and maintain a firm hold on their majority, while also having a good shot at the White House and Senate control, giving Mrs. Pelosi little incentive to bend in negotiations. She has said she doesn't want any piecemeal deals, but a sweeping deal that will give funding to states and local governments, as well as to minorities who have been especially hit hard in the pandemic.

Senate Republicans have tried to advance narrower packages but were blocked by Democrats.

Policy Makers Press for Stimulus Boost

By KATE DAVIDSON AND NICK TIMIRAOS

WASHINGTON—Federal Reserve officials and some other policy makers are stepping up calls for a quick jolt of stimulus spending as recent economic data point to uneven growth.

Their concern: Even if the current recovery is self-sustaining, a delay could lead to a repeat of the lackluster rebound from the 2008 financial crisis, when a burst of spending was followed by an abrupt reversal.

"This is not a good time to have fiscal policy switch from being accommodative to creating a drag," former Fed Chairwoman Janet Yellen said in an interview. "That's what happened, and it retarded the recovery."

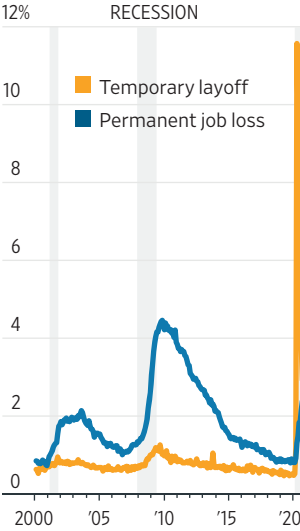
While there is broad agreement in Washington on the need for more spending, there are big differences on the magnitude of the next aid package.

White House officials and House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D., Calif.) are closing in on a nearly \$2 trillion deal to provide another round of stimulus checks, reinstate extra weekly unemployment benefits and extend aid for small businesses, airlines and state and local governments.

"I'm not happy about the cost associated with it, but I do think the cost of not doing something is potentially even higher," Sen. Marco Rubio (R., Fla.) said Thursday.

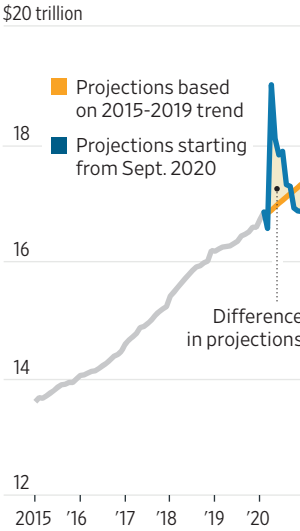
Senate Republicans, citing concerns about record budget deficits, have proposed \$500 billion in targeted aid for

Job losses as a share of the U.S. labor force



Sources: Labor Department (job losses); Credit Suisse (disposable personal income)

Disposable personal income



hard-hit businesses, such as hotels and restaurants, more money for schools and liability protections from coronavirus-related lawsuits.

If the White House and Mrs. Pelosi reach an agreement, a vote would likely have to wait until after the Nov. 3 election, which could imperil the passage of more stimulus for months if the election results change the political calculus for either party.

Meanwhile, money from stimulus checks that households received this spring has largely been depleted. Emergency small-business loans are no longer available. Airlines that received federal assistance have started furloughing or laying off employees. And unemployed workers are pull-

ing back on spending after an extra \$600 a week in jobless benefits expired July 31.

Another cliff looms as the enhanced unemployment benefits Congress approved in March for millions of contract workers and long-term unemployed will expire Dec. 31.

"The damage done in three or four months of not having enough money is really large," said Louise Sheiner, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution.

The worry is that as long as the pandemic saps consumer spending, especially in high-contact service industries, policy makers will be less successful in staving off traditional recessionary forces, in which rising layoffs, falling incomes and a pullback in lending lead to lower demand,

more layoffs and tighter credit.

"Premature withdrawal of fiscal support would risk allowing recessionary dynamics to become entrenched," Fed governor Lael Brainard said Wednesday.

Failure to learn the lessons of the past decade could be more costly to the government over the longer run, Ms. Yellen said. A weaker economy means less tax revenue and more spending on jobless benefits and other safety net measures.

In the early months of the pandemic, Congress and the Fed took aggressive steps to prop up businesses and households, and positioned the economy for a strong rebound this summer, when businesses began reopening with new health and social-distancing protocols in place. But now, as in the aftermath of 2008, political gridlock has dragged out efforts to replenish waning fiscal support, and the central bank is out of room to lower interest rates, which are pinned near zero.

There are some important differences with the last recession, which started with a damaging housing-debt bubble. Households and banks entered the current shock in better shape. The Fed also moved faster to cut interest rates and keep credit flowing to households and businesses.

A roughly \$2 trillion aid package would help lift gross domestic product to its pre-pandemic level by the middle to end of 2021, according to an analysis by Ms. Sheiner and economist Wendy Edelberg, also a senior Brookings fellow.

If Congress doesn't reach an

agreement on additional spending, it would take more than a decade to return to that level, the Congressional Budget Office projects. Even spreading out \$2 trillion over several years could lead to long-term economic damage, as people leave the labor force and lose their skills and businesses close permanently, Ms. Sheiner said. "It's costly to stay below full potential," she said.

Fed officials have been especially outspoken. With interest

Some officials fear a return to the slow expansion that followed 2008 crisis

rates at historically low levels, there is less they can do to spur activity. They have raised worries that the nature of the current shock will exacerbate longstanding economic inequality, something their policies are also poorly suited to fix.

For example, the bottom fifth of all income earners account for just 9% of consumer spending, which helps explain why retail sales have held steady in recent months despite reduced support for the unemployed.

"Even after the worst of the crisis passes, the scarring of families' balance sheets may weigh on spending and leave them further behind over the longer term," Chicago Fed President Charles Evans said last month.

U.S. Economic Activity Picks Up While Virus Surge Crimps Europe

By DAVID HARRISON AND PAUL HANNON

Economic activity in the U.S. grew at the fastest pace in more than 18 months as businesses anticipated greater demand, an easing of coronavirus-related restrictions and less uncertainty following November's election, surveys of purchasing managers showed.

The U.S. survey figures are the latest sign the economy continues to recover from the shock created by the pandemic. Worker filings for jobless benefits so far this month fell to the lowest level since the pandemic started, and ex-

isting-home sales rose 9.4% in September, a 14-year high.

The rush in optimism stands in contrast with Europe, where a resurgence of Covid-19 cases and new business restrictions are threatening to halt the region's economic recovery.

Data firm IHS Markit said Friday that its composite purchasing managers index for the U.S. rose to 55.5 in October from 54.3 in September, the highest level in 20 months. Among service firms, the index increased to 56 from 54.6, while the manufacturing index stood at 53.3, a slight rise from 53.2 in September. A

reading above 50 indicates that activity is increasing.

U.S. companies noted that demand slowed slightly in October, particularly from abroad. Respondents to the survey said some customers were still dealing with coronavirus-related disruptions or had delayed new orders until after the election.

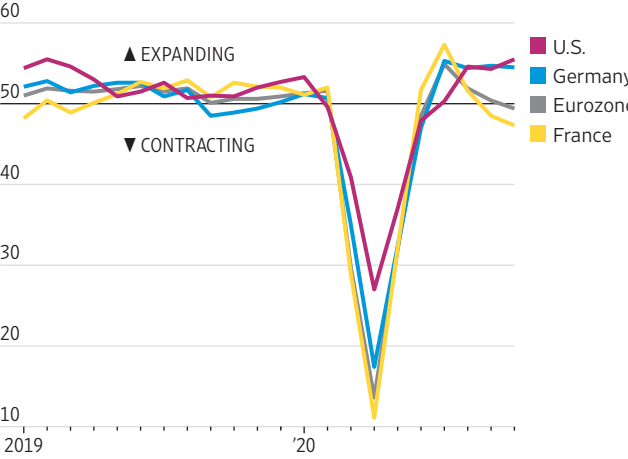
That wasn't enough to dim respondents' bright outlook. Business confidence in both services and manufacturing rose to the highest level since May 2018, the survey showed.

Economists surveyed by The Wall Street Journal expect the U.S. economy grew at an annualized rate of 28.5% in the third quarter. That would represent a record growth rate, but it wouldn't be enough to overcome the 31.4% decline in the second quarter. For the full year, they see the economy shrinking 3.6%. The U.S. is set to release third-quarter growth figures Thursday.

The picture is different in Europe, where a surge of Covid-19 cases has led to new restrictions on business activity. IHS Markit said its composite purchasing managers index for the eurozone fell to 49.4 in October from 50.4 in September. The October measure indicates business activity fell for the first month since June.

—Xavier Fontdegloria contributed to this article.

Purchasing managers composite output indexes



Sources: IHS Markit; IHS Markit/CDAF (France)



— SHOP ONLINE —

WWW.LONGINES.COM

LONGINES

5 LONGINES SPIRIT 5-YEAR WARRANTY

POLITICS



WASHINGTON WIRE

Dispatches from the Nation's Capital

By GABRIEL T. RUBIN

BLACK AND FEMALE candidates make up record shares of major party nominations for federal office. There are 125 Black candidates for federal office this year, 94 of them Democrats and 31 Republicans. The previous record total was 91, during the 2018 midterms, according to data compiled by David Bositis, senior researcher at the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. There are a record six Black nominees for Senate seats, five of whom are Democrats. The Senate has had only 10 Black senators in its history, and it could lose one of the three currently serving if Sen. Kamala Harris is elected vice president (she would still have a

role to play in the Senate as its president, however). The number of women running for office has also jumped, particularly among Democrats. Forty-eight percent of Democrats in congressional races are women, but among nonincumbents, the number is 58%, according to Boston College political scientist David Hopkins. The previous record for female share of Democratic candidates was 42%, in 2018. Republicans have also seen an uptick: 23% of the party's House nominees and 33% of nonincumbent nominees are women, both record shares. House Republicans are particularly eager to diversify their ranks: The number of GOP congresswomen declined to 13 from 23 following the 2018 midterms, and the caucus has just a handful of nonwhite members.

THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT has canceled a number of speeches, educational programs and celebrations and gatherings for its employees after the Trump administration told all federal agencies to suspend diversity training efforts until they are deemed compliant with President Trump's executive order banning "offensive and anti-American race and sex stereotyping and scapegoating." The order is part of Trump's effort to push back against what he says are attempts to depict the nation as



Black Democratic lawmakers at a ceremony for the late Rep. John Lewis in July. Black and female lawmakers make up record shares of major party nominations for federal office this year.

inherently racist. The move has upset some employees, who say the department has taken an overly broad view of the executive order to include seemingly routine and voluntary events and activities, in some cases raising free-speech concerns. The department this week, for example, canceled an event on ways to increase gender diversity in DOJ leadership, featuring Jessie Liu, former U.S. attorney for the District of Columbia. Others that were scrapped include a training on unconscious bias for

employees in the antitrust division; a program for U.S. attorneys on implicit social cognition with Louis Trosch, a superior court judge in North Carolina; and a Hispanic heritage event, people familiar with the matter said. A memo sent to Justice Department officials this month said all diversity-related programs, activities and events should be suspended indefinitely and training materials scrubbed from internal systems until they can be approved by the department's Office of Personnel Management.

GPS CAMPAIGNING: In an effort to make voting easy, the House Democrats' campaign arm is testing a GPS-based targeting system that will notify drivers using certain navigation apps if they are within a certain number of miles of a polling place or ballot drop box. Clicking on the notification within the app will redirect the driver toward the site. Geofencing techniques are popular among Republican campaigns, and the Trump campaign in particular has used them to identify new voters at Trump rallies. The Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee tool, for now, is aimed at Asian-Americans in Orange County, Calif., where voters are allowed to vote at any county election site. Asian-Americans, around a quarter of the county's population, are seen as a key to Democratic success there in 2018.

AFGHANISTAN reconstruction projects have been rife with fraud and abuse, with at least \$19 billion of taxpayer funds wasted between 2002 and 2019, according to a new inspector general report to Congress. A previous 2017 report found \$15.5 billion in funds lost to waste, fraud and abuse, and the latest report updates that figure through a more extensive review plus a look at more recent projects. The review covered \$63 billion in spending on counter-

otics and stabilization work in Afghanistan, less than half of all reconstruction spending in the country that Congress has allocated since 2002. Defense Department spokesman Jonathan Hoffman criticized the report for having "factual errors and misrepresentations" and said the inspector general makes "little distinction between reconstruction efforts that were mismanaged and those efforts that have, to date, simply fallen short of strategic goals." **LOW-FLYING HELICOPTERS** alarmed some Washington residents this week as they swooped as low as 150 feet above the ground at 80 miles an hour. The aircraft belong to the Energy Department's National Nuclear Security Administration, which is testing naturally occurring background radiation ahead of the 2021 presidential inauguration.

MINOR MEMOS: American Civil Liberties Union quickly sells out of stress balls that look like the U.S. Constitution. ... Sen. Roy Blunt on why Trump chief of staff Mark Meadows was meeting with Senate Republicans: "Maybe he just needed to get out of the White House."... Arizona Sen. Martha McSally's campaign accidentally features astronaut Scott Kelly in an ad rather than his twin brother, her opponent Mark Kelly.

A Battleground Feels Pandemic's Ripples

By JOHN MCCORMICK

It hasn't been a good year for John Stemler. The brew master and co-founder of Free Will Brewing in Pennsylvania's Bucks County has had to lay off employees because of the coronavirus pandemic and figures his annual revenue will drop by 25%. "We're being very careful about how we operate the business," he said. "We fear there could be a return to a shutdown, so we are being very, very cautious."

Economic conditions in the suburban Philadelphia county are front-and-center this fall because it is a battleground within a battleground in the presidential race. Democrat Hillary Clinton beat President Trump in the county in 2016 by less than eight-tenths of a percentage point, while Mr. Trump narrowly won the state.

Bucks, the commonwealth's fourth-most-populated county, and 11 other Pennsylvania counties are in the top 20% nationally for both increase in unemployment rate from a year earlier and deaths per capita linked to Covid-19, a Wall Street Journal analysis shows. The proportion of the state's counties in both categories is almost four times that of the next-highest presidential battleground, Michigan.

In the closing days before the election, both campaigns are signaling through spending and scheduled events that Pennsylvania, with its 20 Electoral College votes, is a top target in their calculations for reaching the 270 needed to capture the White House.

Democratic nominee Joe Biden and his allies are booked to spend more per electoral vote on television ads in Pennsylvania between now and the campaign's end than in any other state, data from ad-tracking company Kantar/CMAG shows. Mr. Biden's campaign and groups backing him have reservations in place for \$25 million in TV ads for the state, compared with \$14.7 million for Mr. Trump and his allies.

The president visited the state twice in recent weeks, and Mr. Biden, who was born in Pennsylvania and has his campaign headquarters in Philadelphia, filmed an ABC News town hall there Oct. 15. Mr. Biden plans to visit Bucks County on Saturday.

The RealClearPolitics average of Pennsylvania polls has the former vice president leading Mr. Trump—the first Republican presidential candidate to win the state since 1988—by 4.9 percentage points.

The state's worst economic and health fallout is most heavily concentrated in eastern Pennsylvania, including Bucks and other politically crucial suburbs around Philadelphia. The 9.7% unemployment rate in Bucks is more than double what it was a year ago. The county also ranks seventh in Pennsylvania for Covid-19 related fatalities, with 9.9 per 10,000 residents.

Bucks County is a mix of suburban strip malls, quiet leafy neighborhoods, rural expanses, tourist destinations and

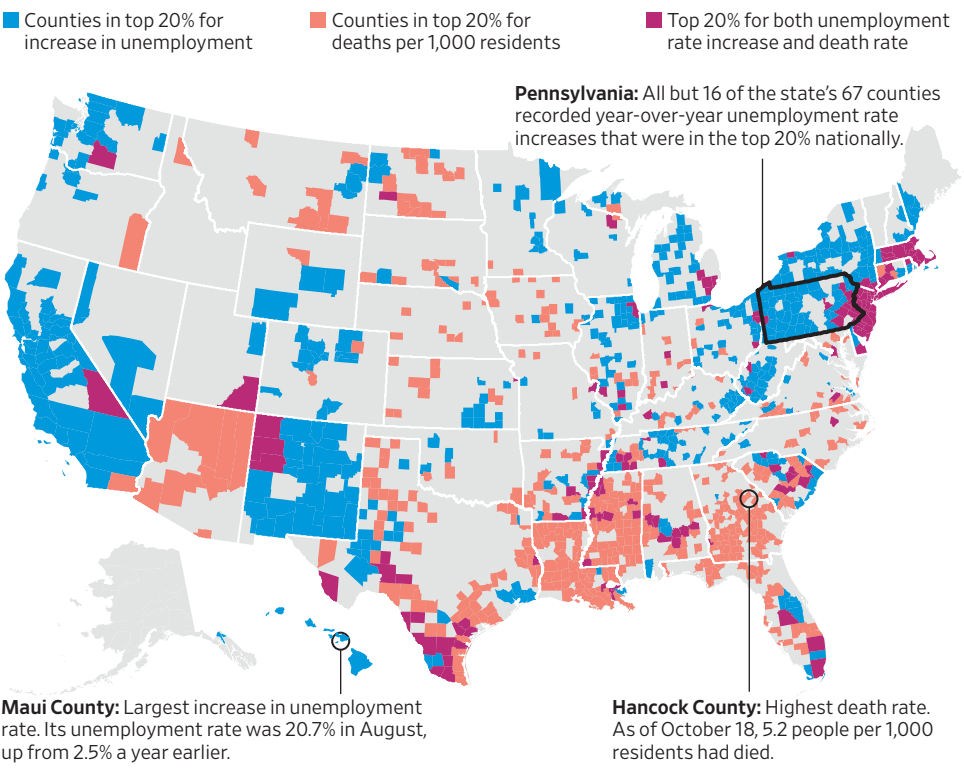


The center of Doylestown, Pa., in Bucks County, where the 9.7% unemployment rate is more than double what it was a year ago.

Uneven Pain

A Wall Street Journal review of data from more than 3,000 counties shows Pennsylvania has the largest proportion in the top 20% nationally for both increase in unemployment from a year ago and deaths linked to Covid-19 per 1,000 residents among the dozen states where the presidential election is being most heavily contested.

Combined economic and human suffering from Covid-19 pandemic



Note: The analysis was based on the federal government's county-level unemployment rates released Sept. 30 and data on deaths compiled by Johns Hopkins University as of Oct. 18. Unemployment levels from the same month a year prior were used to counteract any seasonal differences. In a few states, there also were a small number of deaths where county information wasn't available.

Sources: WSJ analysis of data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics and Johns Hopkins University

manufacturing. Its southern section, known as Lower Bucks, has a large share of the sort of white, working-class voters who make up Mr. Trump's core supporters.

More than half of the state's counties had double-digit unemployment in August, the most recent month for which data are available. None of the 11 other top battleground states comes anywhere close to that proportion.

"Very high unemployment, a lot of anxiety and suffering because of the virus," Democratic Sen. Bob Casey of Pennsylvania said of the presidential-election

environment in his state. "I think that's what people are going to be making their voting decisions on."

Among the three incumbent presidents defeated in the last half-century—Gerald Ford in 1976, Jimmy Carter in 1980 and George H.W. Bush in 1992—all faced national unemployment rates of 7.5% or higher in the September before the election. The September 2020 rate was 7.9%.

Patricia Poprik, the Republican Party leader in Bucks County, said she saw no evidence that locals were blaming the president for heightened

unemployment rates. "The enthusiasm and the interest is the highest ever, even more than 2016," she said. "We can't keep Trump signs in stock."

Linda Mannherz, a Republican voter who has spent the majority of her life in the county, said she is optimistic about the president's chances of winning. "People do not want radical change," she said. "They want constant improvement."

John Cordisco, the county's Democratic chairman, said he is seeing more activity in the area from his party than at any time in the past 12 years and also can't supply enough signs to

meet the demand. Democrats have made gains at the local level since Mr. Trump's election, with the party holding the majority on the county commission for the first time since the late 1980s.

"This is probably the most campaign activity I have seen since the first Obama campaign," Mr. Cordisco said. "There is a tremendous energy level."

Tourism and leisure spending is important to the economy of Bucks County, which is home to more than 628,000 people and is a short drive from both Philadelphia and New York City.

Paul Bencivengo, president of Visit Bucks County, said revenues for his agency from lodging taxes were down roughly 50% from July through September compared with a year ago, forcing some marketing and staff reductions. "We are concerned about the winter, especially with our restaurant partners," he said.

Minesh Pathak, executive director of the Lower Bucks County Chamber of Commerce, said he fears additional businesses will close this fall and winter. "Some are not going to be able to make it through this," he said.

Linda Tabas, owner of a gift and clothing shop in the county, said two women who normally help her aren't working now because she needs to save money amid lower sales. "It has been stressful to do three people's jobs all at once, but I refused to close because of this," she said.

Mr. Stemler, the beer brew master, said his business has been able to find some new revenue by shipping beverages across the state. He has about 20 full-time employees, down from 25 before the pandemic.

After describing himself as a lifelong Republican, Mr. Stemler said he plans to vote for Mr. Biden. "I don't love either of them, but I think Biden has more of my interests in mind," he said.

Candidates Return to Their Core Themes

By GERALD F. SEIB

In the end, President Trump and Joe Biden are bringing the campaign dialogue back to how they see themselves, as the outsider versus the unifier.

Those were the broadest themes struck in the candidates' second and final debate Thursday. The debate itself was a

study in contrasts with the shout-fest that was the first debate: A fairly serious and substantive conversation broke out, moving into the actual details of topics such as the minimum wage and policy toward North Korea.

That was largely the result of changes made by the Commission on Presidential Debates, the skill of moderator Kristen Welker of NBC News and a change in tactics by Mr. Trump, who appears to have concluded that the hectoring approach he took to the first debate did him no favors.

Both candidates used the relative calm to make policy-related points sure to reverberate in the days before Nov. 3. Mr. Trump jumped on Mr. Biden's assertion he would "transition from the oil industry" as a sign that Democrats' climate policies would undermine the economy. Mr. Biden argued that, though a "dark winter" is coming because of the president's failure to contain the coronavirus, his own pandemic plan would allow the economy to reopen safely.

Yet the broader themes struck Thursday might be as important in framing the picture each candidate wants Americans to see.

Mr. Biden portrayed himself as a leader who can unify a country Mr. Trump has spent the last four years dividing. "I don't look at this in terms of the way he does, blue states and red states," Mr. Biden said, "They're all the United States....I'm running as a proud Democrat, but I'm going to be an American president."

The president essentially painted his challenger as the incumbent, the product of a Washington system, while claiming the mantle of outsider even after nearly a full term. "I ran because of you," Mr. Trump said at one point. Turning to Mr. Biden, he asserted, "I'm looking at you now. You're a politician."

Those riffs represented a return to core themes. Mr. Trump ran four years go as an outsider looking into the political system with scorn, and he wants to do so again. When Mr. Biden began his campaign more than a year ago, it was with a declaration that he sought to restore the "character" of the nation.

U.S. WATCH

WASHINGTON

U.S. Sanctions Group Over Cyberattack

The Trump administration sanctioned a Russian government research institution it said was responsible for cyberattacks on the critical infrastructure of U.S. allies in the Middle East, the latest in a flurry of warnings this week about threats posed by Russian hackers.

The Treasury Department blamed Russia for deploying a powerful malware known as Triton against industrial control systems that plants and factories use to initiate emergency shutdown procedures.

Moscow has routinely denied targeting critical infrastructure with cyberattacks, and the Russian Embassy in the U.S. didn't respond to a request to comment.

Friday's action imposed sanctions on the Central Scientific Research Institute of Chemistry and Mechanics, described as a government-owned institution located in Moscow that had previously been linked to Triton by FireEye Inc., a U.S.-based cybersecurity firm. U.S. researchers have linked Triton, which was discovered in 2017, to an attack on a Saudi petrochemical plant.

—Dustin Volz

CALIFORNIA

Man Who Aided Terror Attack Jailed

A friend of one of the shooters in the 2015 San Bernardino, Calif., attack that killed 14 people was sentenced to 20 years in federal prison on Friday for providing weapons and "for conspiring to commit terrorist attacks," U.S. officials said.

Federal authorities said Enrique Marquez Jr., 28 years old, bought two AR-15 style rifles that were later used by husband-and-wife Syed Rizwan Farook and Tashfeen Malik in the mass shooting that also injured 22 people at a holiday gathering of county workers in a government building.

Farook, who was a San Bernardino County employee, and Malik died later that day in a shootout with police.

—Rachael Levy

MENTAL HEALTH

Suicide Rate Fell Slightly in 2019

The U.S. suicide rate fell slightly last year, the first annual decline in more than a decade, according to new government data.

It was a small decrease and the data is preliminary, but the decline is "really exciting," said Dr. Christine Moutier, chief medical officer of the American Foundation for Suicide Prevention.

The fall may be partly due to years of suicide-prevention efforts, like increasing mental-health screenings, she said. Other factors, like the pre-pandemic economy, might also have played a role, she added.

In 2018, the national suicide rate hit its highest level since 1941—14.2 per 100,000 people. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention posted new death rate data this week showing that for 2019, it dropped to 13.9.

—Associated Press

Energy, Climate Get Focus

Continued from Page One

lenger, with a solid and steady lead, while he has held a smaller advantage in battleground states that Mr. Trump won in 2016. Mr. Biden also holds a fundraising advantage.

During Thursday's debate, Mr. Trump said his challenger's climate-change plan, which calls for the U.S. to have net-zero carbon emissions by 2050, would hurt the oil industry and the U.S. economy. Some energy-industry executives sided with Mr. Trump on Friday, although larger oil companies have at times backed ways to reduce carbon emissions.

"I would transition away from the oil industry, yes," Mr. Biden said Thursday. "The oil industry pollutes, significantly. It has to be replaced by renewable energy over time."

Mr. Trump responded: "Basically what he is saying is he is going to destroy the oil industry." He went on to call out oil-rich states. "Will you remember that Texas? Pennsylvania? Oklahoma? Ohio?"

After the debate, Mr. Biden told reporters that while he wanted to eventually move

U.S. NEWS

Trump Rushes to Hit Border-Wall Goal

By ALICIA A. CALDWELL
AND MICHELLE HACKMAN

GUADALUPE CANYON, Ariz.—The Trump administration is building new sections of a wall on the nation's southern border wherever it can and as quickly as it can to try to meet the president's goal of building 450 miles by the end of the year.

President Trump set the goal about a year ago and, to fulfill it, contractors are building largely on land the federal government already owns, including in areas where illegal border crossings have been relatively low in recent years.

In some cases, the new wall is replacing a shorter border fence installed in the late 2000s. In other locations, new stretches of wall are being built where previous administrations opted for barriers designed to stop only cars or where the rugged terrain already serves as a natural barrier.

Administration officials have said the project is necessary to keep people from crossing the border illegally, arguing the government can't afford to wait for any specific section of the border to become a hot spot before building barriers there.

In a speech in Arizona on Thursday, acting Department of Homeland Security Secretary Chad Wolf said every mile of barrier being built is "new, whether we are constructing it in places where no barriers existed before or we're replacing 5-foot steel barriers with an 18-foot to a 30-foot bollard-style wall complemented with roads, enforcement cameras and other related technology."

During the government's 2020 budget year, which ended in September, the number of people arrested illegally crossing the border was down by more than half from a year earlier. Arrests at the border



In Arizona, crews recently blew up boulders to clear a path for the border wall in the Peloncillo Mountains in Guadalupe Canyon.

started to decline in the summer of 2019 after the administration expanded a program requiring asylum seekers to wait in Mexico for U.S. court hearings. Arrests dropped again after the pandemic forced shutdowns around Central America.

In Arizona, where much of the new construction has taken place, new spans of wall cut through marshland and cross a river.

In Guadalupe Canyon, a remote, mountainous region that straddles Arizona and New Mexico, construction crews have been using dynamite to level the steep slopes where the wall is being built. Fresh cuts through the dirt and rock mark where a new 4.7-mile span of wall will extend, at a cost of about \$41 million a mile.

"At this point, the building is largely opportunistic in or-

der to meet political demands," said Doris Meissner, who served as commissioner of the former Immigration and Naturalization Service in the Clinton administration. "A wall is not an all-purpose, one-size-fits-all solution for the challenges of border enforcement."

At a news conference in Tucson, Ariz., last week, Border Patrol Chief Rodney Scott said the new wall system, which includes border access roads and lighting, has freed up agents to patrol in more-remote areas. "Every mile of border (wall) system is an investment with an immediate return on investment to the American taxpayers," he said.

Legal and political battles over Mr. Trump's border wall stymied construction for much of the first two years of his term. A fight over funding for

the wall triggered the longest government shutdown in U.S. history. In February 2019, Mr. Trump declared an emergency at the border, eventually allowing him to shift about \$10 billion from the Pentagon to pay for the project.

Multiple federal courts have ruled that Mr. Trump's use of the military money was unlawful, because the Constitution gives Congress the power to decide how federal money is spent. The Supreme Court announced Monday it would take up the question next year.

Before Mr. Trump began using military money, just 37 miles of his preferred style of border barrier had gone up. The following January, the administration marked 100 miles of new wall with a celebration and a metal plaque bearing Mr. Trump's signature.

By mid-October, the administration had built about 370 miles, all but 45 replacing existing fencing or vehicle barriers, putting up an average of 10 miles a week.

Much of the new wall is a 30-foot structure made of diamond-shaped steel posts filled with cement and sunk several feet into the ground. Some of it is replacing 15-to-18-foot fencing built during President George W. Bush's administration, which construction crews are tearing down.

Much of the new wall is being built in and around Tucson, which was long the Border Patrol's busiest sector. As migrant patterns shifted to Central America, the stretch around Texas' Rio Grande Valley has surpassed it. But there has been little progress on the wall there, with just 3 miles finished.

GOP Senator Faces a Tough Race in Iowa

By LINDSAY WISE

It has been 36 years since Iowans last unseated an incumbent senator. Now the Hawkeye State's Sen. Joni Ernst is one of the most endangered Republicans running for re-election.

Polls show her race against Democrat Theresa Greenfield has become one of the closest Senate contests in the country, as voters assess whether the incumbent has lived up to her image of a tough, motorcycle-riding political outsider, and how she stacks up against a challenger who emphasizes her own local roots and casts Ms. Ernst, 50, as a creature of Washington.

The outcome could determine control of the U.S. Senate, where Republicans are trying to hold on to a 53-47 majority.

Nonpartisan political analysts with Larry Sabato's Crystal Ball at the University of Virginia this week shifted the Iowa race from "tossup" to "leans

Democratic," picking Ms. Greenfield, a 57-year-old businesswoman, as a narrow favorite and pinpointing Iowa as the seat most likely to tip the Senate to Democratic control. The other GOP-held seats rated as leaning Democratic this cycle are Colorado, Arizona and Maine.

"We think Iowa has surpassed North Carolina in the pecking order of Democratic targets," said managing editor Kyle Kondik. He noted that Ms. Greenfield raised four times as much money as Ms. Ernst in the third quarter, and that Ms. Ernst is underperforming President Trump in Iowa, with her average polling at 42.5%, compared with Mr. Trump's 46.3%.

Iowa is a state with a history of electing Democrats and Republicans. While Mr. Trump won the state by 9 percentage points in 2016, Democratic President Obama won it in 2008 and 2012. Current polling

shows Mr. Trump about even with Democratic challenger Joe Biden.

Ms. Ernst, who served in the military for more than 20 years, was first elected to the Senate in 2014. This year, the potential for Ms. Ernst's seat to decide Senate control has generated

The potential for the seat to decide Senate control has generated record spending.

record spending. More than \$152 million has been spent on political TV advertising in the Iowa Senate race through last week—more than has been spent in any other Senate race, according to data from political ad tracker Kantar/CMAG.

Ms. Greenfield's campaign

ads emphasize her childhood on a family farm and her struggles as a single mom following the loss of her first husband, a union electrical worker, who died on the job. She relied on Social Security survivor benefits and stresses the importance of protecting government safety-net programs. She was president of the Iowa division of a national home-building company that went out of business after the 2008 housing bust, a fact that Republicans have featured in negative ads.

The Ernst camp has focused on defining Ms. Greenfield as unprepared for the job and too liberal for Iowa voters, while highlighting Ms. Ernst's experience and willingness to fight—with a special emphasis on trade and corn-based ethanol. At a roundtable in Cedar Rapids in August, Ms. Ernst secured a public commitment from the president to ensure that federal regulators denied refineries' pe-

titions for retroactive exemptions to U.S. biofuel laws.

But some of Ms. Ernst's missteps have provided grist for Democrats. At a debate last week, a moderator asked Ms. Greenfield to name the break-even price of a bushel of corn and asked Ms. Ernst for the break-even price of soybeans. Ms. Greenfield correctly gave the price of corn as about \$3.68 per bushel, noting that the break-even price would depend on the farmer's debts. Ms. Ernst stumbled. "You grew up on a farm, you should know this," the moderator chided. Ms. Ernst incorrectly guessed \$5.50 a bushel. The right answer was about \$10.

Ms. Ernst's spokesman said the senator couldn't clearly hear the question. The Greenfield campaign rushed to capitalize on Ms. Ernst's miscue, running digital ads on Facebook and Instagram targeting rural voters and Republicans.



Joe Biden speaking during Thursday night's debate in Nashville, Tenn.

last night, it would radically change the American economy," Mr. Jennings said.

Mike Mikus, a Democratic strategist from outside Pittsburgh, said Mr. Biden could have been more articulate in talking about the oil industry, but he didn't think it would change the trajectory of the race. "The people it really motivates on either side of the issue have already picked sides," Mr. Mikus said.

Jim Cassidy, business manager for the Insulators Local No. 2 Union in southwest Pennsylvania, said Mr. Biden's de-

bate comments "didn't sound good," but he is still supporting the former vice president and his position on fracking.

"I cannot see another four years of Donald Trump here," he said. "We're suffering now because of Covid and projects that have stopped."

Mr. Biden's campaign said his position wasn't different from many other politicians'. "The idea of transitioning off of oil is nothing new," deputy campaign manager Kate Bedingfield told reporters after the debate. "Joe Biden has put forward a very aggressive climate

plan that will move us into a cleaner economy."

His debate comments could also appeal to younger voters in key states, many of whom consider climate change a priority issue. "Joe Biden is right: we need to transition off of fossil fuels to stop the climate crisis and prevent needless pain and death," said Evan Weber, political director for Sunrise Movement, a group of young climate activists.

Mr. Trump, who has questioned the science on climate change, has worked to boost fossil fuel production. His ad-

ministration has given priority to deregulation and cutting taxes with the aim of driving economic growth.

Larger oil companies including Exxon Mobil Corp. favor a carbon tax or some other market-related mechanism to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions. But many of the smaller exploration and production companies remain opposed to major climate measures. Chet Thompson, president and CEO of the American Fuel & Petrochemical Manufacturers, said in a statement Friday that transitioning from "oil and natural gas in a few years' time would upend life as we know it and be devastating to the more than 3 million U.S. jobs."

The renewables industry, by contrast, welcomed Mr. Biden's pledge. "Joe Biden stated what is obvious to 90% of voters across America," said Abigail Ross Hopper, president and CEO of the Solar Energy Industries Association.

Even with support from the Trump administration, U.S. oil and gas companies have struggled. And recently, Covid-19 has eroded demand for products such as gasoline, diesel and jet fuel as people travel less. U.S. benchmark oil prices have hovered around \$40 a barrel, below the level many companies require to profitably drill new wells.

—Catherine Lucey and Rebecca Elliott contributed to this article.

WORLD NEWS

Israel, Sudan Agree to Normalize Ties

U.S.-brokered pact ends longstanding hostilities amid broad diplomatic shift in the Middle East

By FELICIA SCHWARTZ AND NICHOLAS BARIYO

TEL AVIV—Israel and Sudan agreed to normalize ties in a U.S.-brokered deal on Friday, the White House said, ending decades of hostility as one of Africa’s largest countries joined a broader diplomatic realignment in the Middle East. The deal helps Sudan emerge

from international isolation after the U.S. sanctioned it in the 1990s for harboring al Qaeda’s then-leader, Osama bin Laden, and aiding terrorist groups. The agreement was announced at the White House by President Trump, who spoke on a conference call to leaders of the two countries and called the deal “peace in the Middle East without bloodshed.” The countries will soon meet to negotiate cooperation pacts in agriculture, technology, aviation, migration and other critical areas, he said. The development follows a deal between Sudan and the U.S.

in which Washington agreed to remove Sudan from a list of countries it considers state sponsors of terrorism. That designation has blocked the country from getting aid from international financial institutions to fix its collapsing economy. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu hailed the deal in a video statement. “This is a new era. An era of true peace. A peace that is expanding with other Arab countries—three of them in recent weeks,” he said. Mr. Netanyahu said that the skies of Sudan as of today would be open to Israeli planes, and that delegations

from both nations would soon meet to discuss cooperation. For decades, Arab states shunned formal diplomatic ties with Israel, while Israel’s conflict with the Palestinians remained unresolved. But the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain upended that status quo in September, becoming the first Arab Gulf states to sign peace accords with Israel as they found common cause against Iran. President Trump tweeted Monday that he would remove Sudan from the list when its government deposited \$335 million in promised compensation for victims of the bomb-

ings of the American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998 and the USS Cole in 2000. The U.S. says Sudan assisted those attacks by harboring al Qaeda militants responsible for them, charges its government denies. Sudan’s information minister said Thursday that the money had been deposited into an escrow account. In a tweet, Sudanese Prime Minister Abdulla Hamdok thanked Mr. Trump for signing the order removing his country from the list of state sponsors of terrorism, without mentioning a deal with Israel. Since the ouster last year of

its longtime dictator, Omar al-Bashir, Sudan’s transitional government has pressed to improve its standing with the West, as it seeks billions of dollars in aid and debt relief. But the government—an alliance between Sudan’s powerful military and civilian groups whose protests hastened Mr. Bashir’s ouster—also had to appease Islamists and hardliners allied with the former president who were deeply opposed to any ties with Israel. Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas’s office condemned Sudan and Israel’s decision to normalize ties.

Deadly Nigerian Attack Sparks Political Upheaval

LAGOS, Nigeria—The first sign that something was wrong at Lekki Toll Gate came when the lights went out.

By Joe Parkinson, Drew Hinshaw and Gbenga Akingbule

David Emmanuel, Feyishara Temitope and hundreds of other Nigerian protesters had gathered on Tuesday for the 13th straight night at the intersection in an upscale zone that had become the symbolic home for two weeks of nationwide demonstrations against police brutality. Shortly before 7 p.m., the fluorescent streetlights that illuminate the neighborhood fizzled out, according to several of the protesters present. Within 30 minutes, Nigerian soldiers emerged from trucks. As demonstrators sang the national anthem, “Arise O’ Compatriots,” the soldiers fired live rounds at the unarmed protesters, leaving a number of people dead and flags stained with blood, and filling social-media feeds with images that have prompted

world-wide condemnation. “We thought they wouldn’t shoot anyone singing the national anthem,” said Mr. Emmanuel, a 26-year-old cellphone salesman who was tasked to hold the largest Nigerian flag. “I saw 10 bodies in the street. I was in deep shock, I thought I was watching an American movie,” said Ms. Temitope, a 32-year-old banker. The number of people killed and wounded in Tuesday’s crackdown remains unclear. Witnesses have given The Wall Street Journal varying estimates of how many corpses they saw at the Lekki Toll Gate of between five and 20. Amnesty International said it had identified at least 10 people who died from their injuries in what it said “clearly amounted to extrajudicial executions.” U.S. officials in Nigeria said they “determined conclusively” that the army was responsible and have called for a probe. Several videos that corroborated the witnesses’ testimony were verified by the Journal and Storyful, a social-media verification company. Storyful

is owned by the Journal’s parent company, News Corp. Nigeria’s federal government has refused to comment on the incursion, pending an investigation. An army spokesman first referred questions about the killings to the police, before denying the army was involved. After days of silence, President Muhammadu Buhari addressed the nation Thursday, calling for protesters to leave the streets but making no mention of Tuesday’s attack. On Friday, he said 51 civilians, 11 police officers, and seven soldiers had been killed in the recent unrest. He didn’t say how many of those died at Lekki Toll Gate, or say who had killed the civilians. “The mayhem has not stopped,” he said. The military operation at the Lekki Toll Gate appears to have deepened the rifts between the government and many residents in Africa’s most populous nation. The street protests against police brutality have dissipated and given way to widespread looting and vandalism. Angry mobs have roamed parts of La-



Police officers searched bus passengers traveling around Lekki Toll Gate in Lagos on Friday.

gos, torching police stations, killing at least one officer. Sporadic gunfire could be heard in several city districts through Thursday. The Oba of Lagos, the region’s traditional but ceremonial king, was evacuated from his palace. By Thursday evening, 10 states were under 24-hour curfew. For the U.S., which considers the country of 206 million its most important military ally in sub-Saharan Africa, the demonstrations and the

government’s deadly response have become a policy problem. In a sign of the complexity of that bilateral relationship, three of the U.S. State Department’s top officials arrived in the capital city, Abuja, in the hours before the Lekki killings on what two U.S. diplomats described as a fact-finding trip to learn more about the drivers of instability. The U.S. released a statement Thursday condemning the attack.

The protests may be fracturing on the streets, but they will have a lasting impact, political and military analysts say, sparking a political awakening of Nigerian youth—a large number of whom didn’t vote in last year’s presidential election. On Thursday, the African Union denounced the killing of unarmed protesters and the United Nations called for “root and branch” reform of Nigeria’s security services.

ADVERTISEMENT



World War II: The Pacific Theater

Taught by Professor Emeritus Craig L. Symonds
US NAVAL ACADEMY

LECTURE TITLES

1. The Road to War in the Pacific, 1931–1941
2. Infamy! The Japanese Attack Pearl Harbor
3. Japan Moves South, December 1941–May 1942
4. The Doolittle Raid on Japan, April 1942
5. Station HYPO: Breaking the Japanese Code
6. Battle of the Coral Sea, May 1942
7. Midway: 10 Minutes That Changed the War
8. Guadalcanal: Jungle Warfare
9. Ironbottom Sound, 1942–1943
10. MacArthur, Halsey, and Operation Cartwheel
11. The Big Blue Fleet and American Industry
12. Battle for Tarawa: A Square Mile of Hell
13. A Three-Front Pacific War, January–May 1944
14. The US Leaps to the Marianas, June 1944
15. Battle of the Philippine Sea, June 1944
16. Bombing Japan: Fire from the Sky
17. American Submarines in the Pacific, 1944–1945
18. MacArthur Returns to the Philippines
19. Battle of Leyte Gulf, October 1944
20. Admiral Halsey’s Typhoons, 1944–1945
21. Battle for Iwo Jima, February–March 1945
22. Battle for Okinawa, April–June 1945
23. Kamikazes: Japan’s Special Attack Units
24. Dropping the Atomic Bomb

World War II: The Pacific Theater
Course no. 8756 | 24 lectures (30 minutes/lecture)

SAVE UP TO \$190

DVD ~~\$269.95~~ NOW \$79.95
Instant Video ~~\$234.95~~ NOW \$59.95
+ \$10 Shipping & Processing (DVD only) and Lifetime Satisfaction Guarantee
Priority Code: 183668

For over 30 years, The Great Courses has brought the world’s foremost educators to millions who want to go deeper into the subjects that matter most. No exams. No homework. Just a world of knowledge available anytime, anywhere. Download or stream to your laptop or PC, or use our free apps for iPad, iPhone, Android, Kindle Fire, or Roku. Over 800 courses available at www.TheGreatCourses.com.

When They Woke the Sleeping Giant

For America, World War II started and ended in the Pacific Theater, with the largest naval war in history—a war that changed the course of the world.

World War II: The Pacific Theater—produced by The Great Courses in partnership with HISTORY®—takes you into the sweeping story of the American fight against Japan. Taught by Professor Craig L. Symonds, a distinguished military historian at the US Naval Academy, these 24 vivid lectures chronicle the global trajectory of the war in the Pacific: the epic battles, the military strategy and tactics, the leaders and commanders, the amphibious landings, the air attacks, and the submarine campaigns. You’ll be transported to the rolling seas of the Pacific, into the jungles of Guadalcanal and the Philippines, and across the sands of Iwo Jima to gain an in-depth understanding of this astonishing war from a unique and often overlooked perspective.

Offer expires 11/07/20
THEGREATCOURSES.COM/3WS
1-800-832-2412

WORLD NEWS

Iraq Emerges as Hurdle to Enforcing Iran Oil Sanctions

By Sarah McFarlane
and Benoit Faucon

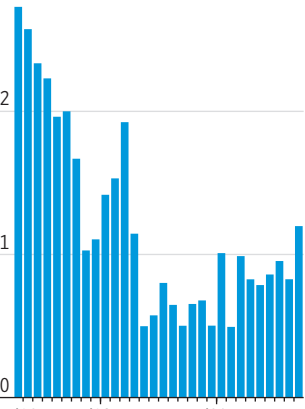
LONDON—Persian Gulf waters off Iraq have become a new, important waypoint for Iranian oil smugglers looking to avoid U.S. sanctions, according to American officials, who expressed frustration that Baghdad and other allies aren't acting more aggressively to enforce curbs on commerce with Tehran.

Iranian tankers now regularly transfer crude to other ships just miles offshore the major Iraqi port of Al Faw, say the officials. The oil is then mixed with cargoes from other places to disguise its origin, and it eventually ends up on sale in world markets, they say.

In one example from March, according to a shipping manifest reviewed by The Wall Street Journal, 230,000 barrels of oil from the state-run National Iranian Oil Co. were transferred to a vessel moored in Iraqi waters. The cargo was blended with Iraqi oil and passed to other ships, according to people familiar with the operation. The ultimate desti-

Iran's crude oil and gas condensate exports

3 million barrels a day



Source: TankerTrackers.com

nation of the oil wasn't clear.

The people familiar with the transfer said the operation was part of an increasingly common and lucrative business that involves transferring and mixing cargoes with other vessels multiple times and then selling the oil with documents that declare it is as Iraqi. Iraqi oil can be sold at a significant premium to oil of Iranian origin.

The owner of the vessel couldn't be reached to comment. It wasn't clear who was chartering the vessel.

U.S. officials said satellite imagery shows that such maneuvers are increasingly common and undercut the Trump administration's policy of "maximum pressure." The policy seeks to compel Iran to negotiate new limits on its nuclear ambitions and regional influence.

The Iraqi government repeatedly has expressed its support for U.S. sanctions. It declined to comment for this article.

Iraq's new prime minister, Mustafa al-Kadhimi, met with President Trump in Washington in August, in a visit that was touted by both sides as a new chapter in a relationship that had soured under former Premier Adel Abdul-Mahdi.

Iran increasingly has tried to find ways to get its crude to market despite the U.S. sanctions. Iran's daily crude and condensate exports averaged 827,000 barrels a day in the first six months of this year, according to U.S. shipping-information company TankerTrackers.com. That is up 28% from the previous six months, but far below the level of 2.7 million barrels a day in May 2018 before the sanctions.

The U.S., meanwhile, has tried to close any gaps. "We have warned the maritime community for two years of the dangers of moving Iranian oil," said Brian Hook, the former U.S. special representative for Iran.

WORLD WATCH



ROYAL APPEARANCE: Thailand's King Maha Vajiralongkorn and Queen Suthida greet a crowd as they leave a ceremony to mark the death of King Chulalongkorn, known as King Rama V, at the Grand Palace in Bangkok. The country has been rocked by antigovernment protests.

SLOVAKIA

All Adults Will Be Tested for Covid-19

With a second wave of coronavirus infections sweeping through Europe, one of the continent's smallest countries is attempting a big response: Slovakia will try to test every adult during the next two weeks.

The government on Friday began its mass-testing campaign in the north of the country, which has been hit hard by the new coronavirus. Thousands of people began lining up at schools, town halls and indoor swimming pools that have been converted into testing centers by the military.

The government has banned residents in the north from leaving their homes for almost any reason.

Officials said they would ask every person older than 10 in the country of 5.5 million to get tested twice before Nov. 8. Those who refuse to get a test will be asked to stay at home for 10 days, or face fines of up to about €1,600, equivalent to \$1,890. Those over 65 are exempt from participating in the program, but are invited to take part.

—Drew Hinshaw

CHINA

Xi Recalls Anti-U.S. Fight in Korean War

Chinese leader Xi Jinping delivered a speech brimming with nationalistic triumph to commemorate his country's entry into the Korean War, in a thinly veiled display of defiance against perceived bullying by the U.S.

Marking the 70th anniversary of Chinese troops joining a beleaguered North Korea to fight off U.S.-led forces, Mr. Xi on Friday called on Chinese people to emulate their forebears' patriotism and resolve in combating present-day threats to China's interests posed by foreign aggressors.

The "War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea," as it is known in China, "let the world know that the Chinese people are now organized and aren't to be trifled with," Mr. Xi said at a nationally televised ceremony held in Beijing's Great Hall of the People, quoting Mao Zedong's remarks at a 1953 leadership meeting.

"Once provoked, things will get ugly," Mr. Xi said, drawing loud applause from the audience.

—Chun Han Wong

TURKEY

Russian Missile Test Draws U.S. Ire

The U.S. government accused Turkey of compromising NATO security Friday after Ankara confirmed that the Turkish military recently conducted a missile-firing exercise with an advanced air-defense system it has procured from Russia.

On Friday, Turkey's President Recep Tayyip Erdogan confirmed that an S-400 test had taken place, adding that the U.S. had no say in the matter.

"The American view is definitely not binding for us," Mr. Erdogan said. "The gentlemen are disturbed by the fact that there is a Russian weapon here. Still, we are determined, we will forge ahead in the same way."

Confirmation of the S-400 test, which military experts say marked a decisive step toward the system's activation, prompted fresh recriminations from the U.S. government.

The renewed tension between Washington and Ankara came as the State Department on Friday warned Americans of security threats in Turkey and

advised U.S. citizens to exercise caution, particularly in areas frequented by foreigners.

Turkish officials declined to comment on the U.S. announcement.

—David Gauthier-Villars

RUSSIA

Central Bank Holds Key Rate at 4.25%

The Russian central bank kept its key interest rate steady as a swift rise in coronavirus cases has clouded the economic outlook and volatility in the Russian ruble has increased ahead of the U.S. election.

The bank on Friday held its benchmark rate at 4.25%, following several cuts this year that drove the rate to a post-Soviet low. It said that it would consider further cuts at coming meetings.

With the virus making a resurgence and cases hitting records in Russia, analysts say that the outlook for the economy, which has already been badly bruised by earlier coronavirus lockdowns and low oil prices, has deteriorated.

—Georgi Kantchev

U.S. Plans Sanctions On Tehran

Continued from Page One makes it more difficult to reverse the action. Since such sanctions are issued with justifying details, officials seeking to remove sanctions have to make the politically sticky case for delisting them.

"Unwinding some of the designations would be quite difficult," said Kirsten Fontenrose, a former senior director for Gulf Affairs in Mr. Trump's National Security Council. A Biden administration would likely roll back a few of the sanctions against Iran as a show of goodwill to Tehran to get them back to the negotiating table, she said, "but he won't be able to undo larger movements like designations."

Mr. Biden has said he would return to the 2015 multilateral Iran nuclear agreement if Iran returns to compliance, and would attempt negotiation of new constraints on Tehran's nuclear program. Mr. Biden's campaign didn't respond to a request to comment.

Mr. Trump, in addition to quitting the pact and reinstating sanctions eased by the Obama administration under the deal, has also blacklisted the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, the Central Bank of Iran and other important financial institutions under powers created in the wake of the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks.

In response to Mr. Trump's withdrawal from the deal and the U.S. killing of a prominent IRGC general, Iran has said it will no longer will comply with limits on uranium enrichment under the pact, and has built up its supply of enriched uranium, prompting warnings from experts and diplomats that Tehran has slashed the time it would need to amass enough fuel for a nuclear weapon.

The Treasury and State departments didn't comment, and Iran's mission to the United Nations didn't respond to requests to comment.

Besides creating political difficulties, counterterrorism

sanctions risk tougher penalties for violators and add another significant layer of stigma that deters banks and others from doing business with those blacklisted, as compared with actions levied under many other powers, such as banks hit this month for operating in Iran's financial sector.

"Tens of thousands of market actors will have to decide whether they want to do business with Iranian entities connected to terrorism and the

Biden has said he would return to 2015 pact if Iran returns to compliance.

IRGC," said Mark Dubowitz, who as head of the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies has urged the Trump administration to levy more sanctions against Iran.

Terror designations, he said, help create a "sanctions wall of political and market deterrence."

Part of the Trump administration's sanctions policy, according to senior officials, is publicly detailing how Iran's leaders use the country's finances and businesses to fund

its weapons programs, terror-designated proxies such as Hezbollah, and conflicts in Iraq, Syria and Yemen. Collectively, those actions build an official evidentiary base that represents a liability for banks, investors and other firms, former U.S. officials say, a risk that can create the same effect of a sanction even if they are repealed.

That dynamic can be seen in the failure of cross-border lending into Iran to pick up even after sanctions were lifted in 2016 under the nuclear accord terms, according to Bank for International Settlements data.

The Treasury Department, in recent sanctions actions, has specifically linked major Iranian energy companies to terror financing. Those include engineering conglomerate Khatam al-Anbya, which is heavily involved in the petroleum industry and is owned by the IRGC, the National Iranian Oil Company and the Persian Gulf Petrochemical Industries Company.

"Iran's petrochemical and petroleum sectors are primary sources of funding for the Iranian regime's global terrorist activities," Secretary Steven Mnuchin said at the time.

Iran's government has rejected Washington's characterization of its activities as terrorism.



PARISIAN CHIC
JEAN-PIERRE CASSIGNEUL



Celebrated artist. Sophisticated subject. Elegant portrait. This original oil is among the largest ever composed by the renowned painter Jean-Pierre Cassigneul. Capturing a woman in white against a floral backdrop, the composition is classic Cassigneul, exuding a sophistication that is unique to his aesthetic. Renowned for stylish sitters in serene settings, Cassigneul stands among the most popular living French artists. Signed (lower left). Canvas: 51 1/8" h x 38 1/4" w; Frame: 61" h x 48" w. #31-0151

M.S. Rau
FINE ART • ANTIQUES • JEWELS

622 Royal Street, New Orleans, LA • 888-767-9190 • ws@rauantiques.com • msrau.com

Since 1912, M.S. Rau has specialized in the world's finest art, antiques and jewelry. Backed by our unprecedented 125% Guarantee, we stand behind each and every piece.

WSJ
Podcasts

Sound
Thinking

Audio storytelling on news you care about,
at home or on the go.

Browse our podcasts: [WSJ.COM/LISTEN](https://www.wsj.com/listen)

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

© 2020 Dow Jones & Company, Inc. All rights reserved. 207886

OBITUARIES

PAUL GLENN
1930 – 2020

Commodity Trader Aimed To Extend Human Life

By JAMES R. HAGERTY

Paul Glenn, a philosophy major at Princeton University, in 1951 noticed a magazine article about research by Thomas S. Gardner, a scientist at the U.S. arm of Swiss drug company F. Hoffmann-La Roche, into what Dr. Gardner saw as possible ways of extending human lifespans to 120 years or more.

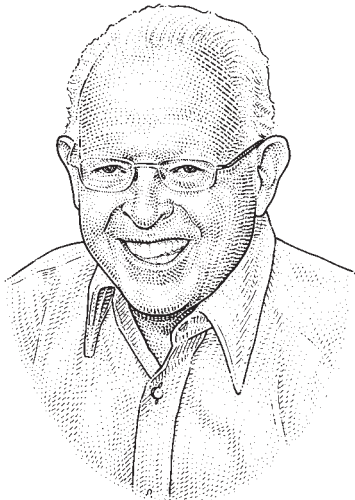
The idea resonated with Mr. Glenn, who was troubled by the deteriorating health of a great-grandmother and his grandparents. He drove to Nutley, N.J., to meet Dr. Gardner and began a lifelong quest for ways to slow the aging process, even as he completed a law degree at Harvard University and embarked on a career in commodity trading, energy investments and venture capital.

Mr. Glenn’s investment earnings allowed him to create the Glenn Foundation for Medical Research and provide more than \$100 million for research on aging at institutions including Harvard, Stanford, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the Mayo Clinic, according to the foundation.

While riding the markets up and down for decades, Mr. Glenn kept in mind what he called the big picture—“that I was going to die some day and what happened to my grandparents was going to happen to me.”

He began suffering minor strokes a dozen years ago and needed a wheelchair for the past several years. He died Sept. 29 of pneumonia, unrelated to Covid-19, at the age of 89, said K. Leonard Judson, chief executive of the foundation.

Despite his fixation on aging, Mr. Glenn lived joyfully, friends said. He wore loud colors and treated ice cream and pie as exceptions from an otherwise life-prolonging diet. He reveled in a garden including agaves and bunya



trees. “You will never see me plant a rosebush,” he vowed.

In a biographical note for Princeton alumni, Mr. Glenn summed up his preoccupations: “I regard healthy human life as a wonderful but tragically brief experience.”

Paul Foss Glenn, an only child, was born Nov. 9, 1930, in Sharon, Pa., about 70 miles northwest of Pittsburgh. His father owned a lumberyard.

He graduated from boarding school at Phillips Exeter Academy before enrolling at Princeton University. At 5-foot-9 and 125 pounds, he considered himself too small to be a jock. “Hence, I was automatically a grind,” he wrote. He majored in philosophy and later regretted his lack of scientific learning. “Princeton,” he concluded, “trained me to be a 19th-century gentleman.”

Harvard trained him to be a lawyer—and convinced him he had no desire to be one. While working on his law degree, he co-founded the Bull and Bear investment club and discovered commodity trading. An early killing on zinc futures cemented his view that commodities

were the fastest way to get rich.

He went to work for Dean Witter & Co. in New York, helped food processors hedge their raw-material costs and traded for his own account. In 1965, he set up his foundation. The goal was to study preventive medicine, including diet and exercise, and conduct research in molecular biology to understand the causes of cell death. “This type of research is very slow, very expensive and very necessary,” he wrote in an update for Princeton alumni.

He left Wall Street in 1973 and lived first in Scottsdale, Ariz., and later in Santa Barbara, Calif., where he continued to manage his own investments.

In a 1977 note to alumni, he complained about taxes on investment earnings: “The risks and time consumed do not justify playing the business game as a vocation for a 30% after-tax return. As a hobby for enjoyment, yes, but I have other hobbies.”

A lack of breakthroughs in the quest for longer spans of healthy life frustrated him at times. In 2009, Mr. Glenn told an interviewer he was ingesting resveratrol, a substance found in grapes and various plants that some researchers thought might slow the aging process, but it didn’t live up to early hopes. More recently he was encouraged by research into ways to prolong life at Calico Life Sciences, funded by Alphabet Inc.

Mr. Glenn kept fit partly through what a friend called high-speed golf. He took vitamins, managed without coffee and drank very little alcohol.

Though he had long-term female companions, he never married or had children. In his early 30s, he told Princeton alumni he was still awaiting a proposal from a “beautiful, intelligent, wealthy young lady.”

◆ Read in-depth profiles at [WSJ.com/news/types/obituaries](https://www.wsj.com/news/types/obituaries)

JOHN CREEDON
1924 – 2020

MetLife CEO Recruited Snoopy as Pitch Dog

As chief executive of Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. in the 1980s, John Creedon launched MetLife blimps and adopted Snoopy and other Peanuts characters to enliven the company’s ads.

He also embraced the trend of creating financial supermarkets and denounced the wave of leveraged buyouts that were devaluing corporate bonds held by MetLife and other insurers.

Mr. Creedon oversaw a move into sales of mutual funds alongside insurance and the 1985 acquisition of the Century 21 real-estate brokerage chain, seen as a way to sell more insurance to home buyers. Six years after he retired, MetLife sold Century 21, joining a new trend of refocusing

on core businesses.

Usually upbeat, he was furious about buyouts that loaded companies up with debt and slashed bond values. In 1988, MetLife sued RJR Nabisco Inc. over a buyout plan. Mr. Creedon said RJR executives were cheating bondholders.

“RJR has gone to the well for public debt for many years, and now they are trying to poison it,” he said. MetLife and RJR reached a financial settlement in 1991.

Mr. Creedon died Oct. 11 at his home overlooking Long Island Sound in Larchmont, N.Y. He was 96 and had prostate cancer. He was still swimming in the sound in his early 90s. “Accentuate the Positive” was his theme song.

—James R. Hagerty

LODWICK COOK
1928 – 2020

Arco CEO Danced On TV to Aid Library

Lodwick Cook—known as Lod, pronounced “laud”—graduated from high school in Grand Cane, La., in a class of five. “It was hard to be in the top 20%,” he told the Los Angeles Times. “I wasn’t even in the top 40.”

Two degrees from Louisiana State University helped him find work in the oil industry, where one of his first tasks was digging ditches. A fast learner, Mr. Cook rose to become chief executive of Atlantic Richfield Co. for 10 years starting in 1985. He steered Arco through the mid-1980s oil bust, turned its gas-station network into a leader on the West Coast and made the company one of the most profitable in the oil industry.

When a 1986 fire destroyed hundreds of thousands of books at the Central Library in Los Angeles, he helped raise more than \$10 million to restore or replace them. During a fundraising telethon, he crooned “Just a Gigolo” while dancing. “The first call came from a friend of mine who said he’d pledge \$1,000 if I’d quit,” Mr. Cook said later.

A Republican fundraiser who befriended Ronald Reagan, he wasn’t always in tune with his party. In 1991, he suggested higher gasoline taxes to encourage conservation and reduce oil imports.

Mr. Cook died of pneumonia, unrelated to Covid-19, Sept. 28 in Sherman Oaks, Calif. He was 92.

—James R. Hagerty



© 2020 Dow Jones & Co., Inc. All Rights Reserved. 6DU008

You.

We thank all our essential workers and partners for their tireless efforts in truly testing times.

As the source of truth for decision-makers around the world, Dow Jones couldn’t do this without **you.**



DOW JONES

FROM PAGE ONE

CNN Boss Mulls His Future

Continued from Page One

If this election is Mr. Zucker's last ride, he would leave CNN after transforming its role in the cable news landscape and becoming one of the most polarizing figures in media in the process. On his watch, the network, once accused of giving Donald Trump too much airtime during his first presidential run, has become a critic of the administration.

CNN, like its rivals in cable news, has enjoyed a major ratings lift during the controversies of the Trump years, especially in election season. The network's ratings have increased about threefold compared with where they were at the start of 2015, reflecting similar gains at Fox News and MSNBC. CNN has been second in the ratings for most of the year among viewers 25 to 54, the key news demographic for advertisers, but trails rival MSNBC in total viewers and is well behind ratings leader Fox News.

Mr. Zucker also placed big bets on digital growth, some of which blossomed—the network's main website expanded its audience—and some that fell flat.

AT&T doesn't break out CNN's results separately. A person familiar with the matter said the division has generated more than \$1 billion in annual profit in recent years. This year is proving more challenging. During the town hall meeting, Mr. Zucker said he expects CNN to miss its profit target by between \$100 million and \$120 million, as digital and international advertising sales suffer during the pandemic.

Spinoff target?

Some media and finance executives say CNN could be a spinoff target for private-equity investors or blank-check companies known as SPACs. AT&T has fielded interest from potential acquirers of CNN on multiple occasions, including last year, according to people familiar with the situation. But despite the headaches of owning a network the president regularly attacks, AT&T has thus far held on to it, viewing it as a valuable financial contributor.

Though Mr. Zucker's contract doesn't end until well into 2021, he could leave before then; initial conversations about whether he'll extend his employment have happened and are expected to deepen after the election, the people familiar with the situation said.

The Information, a subscription news site focused on technology and media, earlier reported Mr. Zucker was in discussions with the company about his future. Mr. Zucker could be drawn to pursue his other passions, which include politics and sports, people who know him say. A person close to Mr. Zucker said he may just be ready to move on following the election, after a long tenure at the network.

The media giant's suc-

sive waves of corporate reorganization over the past two years have replaced executives at all levels from its Warner Bros. television studios to the leadership at HBO. Mr. Zucker had been the last man standing, maintaining control of his news and sports fiefdom.

When Mr. Kilar succeeded John Stankey atop WarnerMedia earlier this year, he carried out another overhaul in August that took away from Mr. Zucker oversight of CNN's finances and human resources, as well as communications—an area run by one of Mr. Zucker's top lieutenants, Allison Gollust. The changes annoyed and surprised Mr. Zucker, the people familiar with the situation said.

Mr. Zucker has had his hand in just about every area of media—morning TV, prime-time entertainment, sports and cable news—over a three-decade-plus career. He joined NBC News in 1986 as a researcher for the network's coverage of the 1988 Olympic Games in Seoul, South Korea, and rose through the ranks, becoming executive producer of "Today" in 1991 at the age of 26. He helped to launch the program into more than a decade of ratings dominance.

Trump connection

He later managed entertainment for NBC, where his greatest successes included reality shows "Fear Factor" and "The Apprentice," starring Mr. Trump.

He helped launch the streaming service Hulu, which Mr. Kilar ran in its early years—meaning that Mr. Zucker now reports to someone who used to work for him. His run at NBCUniversal was marred by his decision to replace "Tonight Show" host Jay Leno with Conan O'Brien, only to soon reverse the move after bad ratings. He left NBCUniversal as its chief executive after Comcast Corp. took control of the company in 2011.

Mr. Zucker took over at CNN in 2013 and was promoted to oversee WarnerMedia's sports properties last year. When Mr. Stankey was tapped this spring to become AT&T CEO, opening up the WarnerMedia CEO slot, the company considered Mr. Zucker for the role, among other internal candidates, early in the process, people familiar with the situation said.

AT&T wanted someone with a background in digital innovation who could spearhead the company's push into direct-to-consumer media, and felt Mr. Zucker's experience didn't make him the best fit, the people said. Eventually AT&T decided to look outside and hire Mr. Kilar.

In addition to reorganizing Mr. Zucker's executive team, Mr. Kilar has his own vision for how to expand CNN's business, including the possibility of creating a subscription streaming service that would carry CNN programming, people familiar with Mr. Kilar's thinking said. CNN has explored selling new subscription products directly to viewers under Mr. Zucker, but so far those plans haven't come to fruition.

AT&T hasn't yet decided how CNN's 24/7 news programming fits into HBO Max, the streaming service that is Mr. Kilar's primary focus at



Joe Biden participates in a CNN town hall, above; in 2004, Donald Trump and Jeff Zucker attended an NBC party in Hollywood.



WarnerMedia. Mr. Kilar wants to give HBO Max subscribers some version of CNN, according to a person familiar with the matter, but the news network's existing contracts with cable and satellite providers make that a tricky proposition.

Belt-tightening across WarnerMedia carried out by Mr. Kilar also prompted Mr. Zucker to close Great Big Story, a short-form video streaming channel that Mr. Zucker championed.

Mr. Zucker has taken heat from both sides of the political aisle. Critics on the right say he has steered the network toward opinion. Some CNN personalities, including prime-time anchor Don Lemon, are openly critical of the president, and the network has increasingly questioned the president's policies, handling of the coronavirus pandemic and false claims—sometimes putting fact-checking into the "chyron" banners at the bottom of the screen.

Critics on the left are frustrated he has signed up political analysts such as former Republican senator Rick Santorum who are often sympathetic to Mr. Trump.

The intrigue about Mr. Zucker's future comes as CNN is preparing to cover its biggest story in years—the 2020 election. Mr. Zucker, the de facto executive producer of

CNN, is planning for a variety of scenarios, including a so-called "red mirage"—an early Republican lead caused by people voting on the day that disappears once mail-in votes are tallied.

Mr. Zucker is known throughout CNN as an in-the-weeds manager who delves into the minutiae of story selection, hangs around the studio, tweaks production details and scrutinizes company finances. He sends emails on weekends and late into the evenings, recommending edits and suggesting stories for

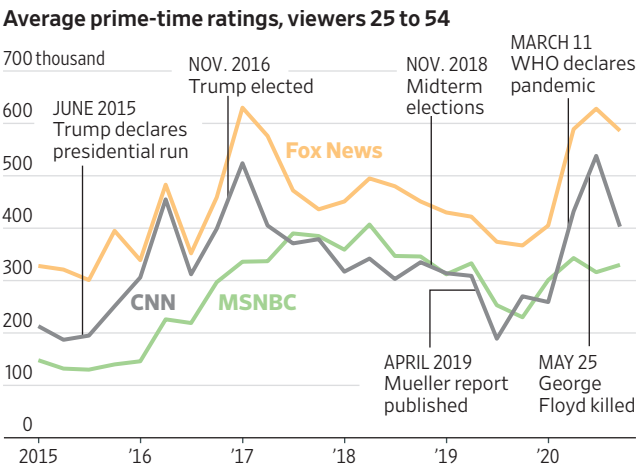
Mr. Zucker told employees CNN needs to play 'error-free ball.'

CNN.com. Editors and producers on the receiving end of Mr. Zucker's emails call the suggested articles "JZ stories," using their boss's preferred nickname.

Some CNN reporters and editors complain that Mr. Zucker is a micromanager, annoyed that a business executive would inject himself into news coverage. Others describe him as an intimidating presence who doesn't work

Uneven Gains

CNN and other networks have grown their audiences in recent years, with dips along the way.



Source: Nielsen data

well with indecisive people and prefers leaders with strong opinions. Some CNN employees grudgingly acknowledge that although Mr. Zucker's late-night emails can be onerous, they are rarely off-target.

Debt load

AT&T is trying to trim a large debt load fueled by takeovers such as its 2018 acquisition of then-CNN parent Time Warner. The company has about \$30 billion of debt that comes due through 2025. Mr. Stankey has said he is looking across AT&T's operations, including WarnerMedia, and will shed assets that aren't considered core.

He is already preparing part of its Xandr advertising business for potential sale and has shopped other assets including its Crunchyroll animation service, according to people familiar with the matter.

AT&T has held on to CNN for more than just its profit stream. Executives suspected that President Trump's well-known feud with CNN influenced his Justice Department's decision to challenge the Time Warner takeover, people familiar with the matter say. AT&T eventually beat that antitrust lawsuit, but the litigation cost it valuable time and money. The Justice Department has

denied that political motives played any role in the suit.

The company's top brass considered holding on to the hard-won prize a competitive necessity, the people said: The fear among AT&T executives was that any perception the company had folded under political pressure would weaken its hand in other policy battles and could scare away creative talent at other parts of WarnerMedia.

AT&T's latest results drove home how much its telecom services dwarf the rest of its media empire, including the cable news channel. Revenue in the wireless division alone reached \$17.9 billion last quarter, putting the cellphone carrier on track to take in more than \$71 billion this year.

CNN insiders see few candidates poised to succeed Mr. Zucker within WarnerMedia.

Mr. Zucker's replacement would need the programming acumen and gravitas to manage the network's high-profile anchors, who include Jake Tapper and Chris Cuomo, and the financial experience to lead a large media company.

During CNN's morning editorial call earlier this week, Mr. Zucker told employees that the network needs to play "error-free ball" over the next few weeks.

—Shalini Ramachandran contributed to this article.

Houses Come With Conditions

Continued from Page One

can't obtain financing or if issues come up during a home inspection. Now, amid a historic housing shortage that gives sellers the upper hand, some buyers are finding themselves confronted with the oddest requests.

"I'm selling a house right now that is being sold with the cat," says Eli Karon, a real-estate agent with Karon Properties in Santa Cruz, Calif. The orange tabby has lived there for years, he says, and its owners don't want to move him.

The house has attracted six offers and is under contract. "It's definitely a seller's market," says Mr. Karon. (He says the cat is friendly and up-to-date on shots.)

In Chicago, real-estate agent Jamie Lemmons once sold a home in which the owners, a pair of retirees, asked



A Florida sale broke down over a flamingo; as part of a house purchase, one family got a dog.

for the right to continue visiting the backyard grave of their beloved golden retriever, Buffy. The buyers agreed and lawyers added an addendum to the contract stipulating Sunday visiting hours between 12 and 2 p.m.

In Naples, Fla., the sale of a fully furnished home broke down at the start of the pandemic after the buyers objected to the seller removing a 6-foot flamingo statue from the house. "I said, to be clear, you don't want this house anymore

because of the pink flamingo?" says Adam Sheets, the buyers' agent. "They were serious."

Real-estate agents say often they prefer to keep unusual agreements off contracts involving financing to avoid having a lender look askance. Many are verbal and unenforceable.

Such was the case when Greg Gasior, 52, sold his house in West Palm Beach, Fla., in September and asked the buyers to assume responsibility for the feral cats that frequented his backyard, fearing



they would otherwise go hungry. He bought the new owners multiple cases of canned cat food along with paper plates, which he asked them to use for serving so the cats wouldn't cut their tongues on the cans.

"They were like, um, OK," says Mr. Gasior, who works in property management. The buyers have sent over a photo showing they are fulfilling the obligation.

"So long as it isn't harming anyone, I don't see why not," says Sabina Dinescu, a real-

estate agent with Douglas Elliman in Pinecrest, Fla., of odd seller requests. Ms. Dinescu sold a house last year for a widow who made the sale of her house contingent on the new buyer keeping her husband's ashes in a safe in a partitioned area behind the master bedroom's closet, a requirement the seller drafted into the contract.

To Ms. Dinescu's astonishment, the buyer agreed to the terms. "They didn't seem too bothered," she said. "The house had a lot of natural light, and it was at a great price point."

Brokers say they have to walk a fine line in dealing with offbeat client demands, not wanting to alienate either side of a deal. In one recent transaction in San Diego, Raquel Benguiat said her buyer fell in love with a seller's pair of dog statues outside the entrance and repeatedly asked for them during negotiations.

"I told them, you gotta stop it with the dogs, because the owner is getting very upset," she recalls. Ms. Benguiat bought her clients a replacement set.

In central Oregon, real-

estate agent Chris Sperry has also played peacemaker. Ms. Sperry represented a buyer and seller in a transaction where the buyer insisted she wanted the seller's cat along with the house. The seller balked. "It really got into a heated argument on both sides," she says. The seller finally agreed to leave her cat, and Ms. Sperry bought her a replacement kitten.

A few years ago Monica Lara, a government employee in Roseville, Calif., bought a home from an owner who was downsizing and wanted to leave his pet beagle behind. It had been the family dog, and his children had grown up and moved away. Ms. Lara and her husband, who have two young sons, said they would let the dog stay.

The seller said the dog was housebroken, which proved to be untrue. But the beagle was affectionate and the kids loved to walk him around the neighborhood. The family featured him in their Christmas photos for several years, until he suffered renal failure and passed away. Ms. Lara, 51, has no regrets about taking him in. "The dog got a family that loved him," she says.

SPORTS

Big Ten Football Returns After a Delay

As Covid-19 surges in the Midwest, the conference hopes stringent protocols will allow the season to stay on track

By LAINE HIGGINS

The Big Ten kicked off its 2020 season on Friday night—71 days after punting on fall football because of the pandemic and 35 days after reversing course under heated criticism and presidential concern. The late start is a blessing and a curse for one of college football's most prominent conferences.

The delay has given the conference a chance to learn from the mistakes made by its collegiate counterparts, who have clumsily navigated a tangle of Covid-19 outbreaks, depleted rosters and postponed games to make it this far into the season. The Big Ten hopes its more stringent safety protocols will help it stay on track.

But it has also waited long enough that new coronavirus infections are surging to record highs in many of the Midwestern states with Big Ten universities. On three campuses—Michigan State, Minnesota and Nebraska—infection rates in the general population top 5%, a threshold that would trigger suspension of athletic activities in the Big Ten were it to occur within a roster.

No other major conference is as picky about what conditions must be in place to play football. The Big Ten's protocols allow it to be quicker than other conferences to postpone games, and call for more quarantine time for players and coaches who test positive before they can return.

"We wanted to make sure we were really cautious in moving forward," said Dr. Jim Borchers, Ohio State's team physician who also chairs the Big Ten's return to play medical subcommittee.

The impetus behind the conference's cagey return to the gridiron, according to Dr. Borchers, is the same one that prompted Big Ten commissioner Kevin Warren to call off the fall season on Aug. 11.

"The reality is that this pandemic will continue to evolve and change and shift," Dr. Borchers said. Upon reflecting on the Big Ten's Sept. 16 decision to resume, he said, "We didn't know where we'd be [in late October], and certainly the modeling that we looked at suggested that we would not be in a better place."

The conference's modeling proved prescient, as the virus surge in the Midwest shows. Yet nowhere in the conference's carefully worded guidelines does community viral spread factor into the calculus for altering athletic events.

The omission has drawn ire from local governments and makes clear the split in campus life between the athletes, who regularly travel and gather in large groups, and everyone else sequestered in their dorm rooms for virtual learning.



Fans watch a game at Memorial Stadium in Lincoln, Neb., in 2019. The Big Ten's protocols call for more quarantine time for players and coaches who test positive.

"We certainly monitor other metrics from the university, local communities and states where the teams are participating," Dr. Borchers said. "I don't know that the student athletes should be punished for the inability of the general public to get their minds around how to prevent this."

Central to the Big Ten president and chancellors' vote to call off the season were concerns of inadequate testing and contact tracing capacity. Once the conference secured a partnership with Biodesix Inc. and Quidel Corp. to provide daily antigen tests for athletes in September, that hurdle had seemingly been cleared.

For sake of optics—and to ensure the health and safety of athletes, Warren insisted—the league needed a way to justify its about face. That's where the Big Ten's protocols come in.

Unlike other conferences that rely on roster minimums or loose public-health metrics to determine whether a game should be rescheduled, the Big Ten considers two medical data points: seven-day rolling averages for team positivity rate, the percentage of tests that come back positive in a given time period; and population positivity rate, which compares the number of infected individuals with the entire population at risk. The percentages fall into one of three

color-coded categories that determine whether teams can keep practicing, must tighten hygienic protocols or pause workouts.

"At the end of the day, one can make certain that there was a uniform, consistent way that we were going to look at the data. Not by a position group, not by how many players need to be available, do you have half of your team be sick or so many people be sick," said Dr. Borchers.

To facilitate transparency, all 14

All 14 Big Ten athletic departments must share test results to a conference database.

Big Ten athletic departments must share test results to a conference database—vital information other leagues don't appear to be sharing. The ACC, for example, doesn't mandate or provide daily antigen testing for its athletes, though universities can supplement the league's thrice-weekly tests at their discretion and expense.

The chain of events triggered by an athlete testing positive is also wildly different in the Big Ten. Should one of the daily antigen

tests for a Wisconsin tight end come back positive, he would immediately go into isolation pending the result of a confirmatory diagnostic PCR test. If the PCR test is negative, the antigen result is assumed to be a false positive and the tight end can rejoin his teammates at practice. If the PCR test confirms the positive result, the tight end will spend 10 days in quarantine, receive a full cardiac work-up and be banned from taking game day snaps until 21 days after his diagnosis.

It can be harder for individuals in the SEC with false positive tests to return to action: they must receive three negative results spaced by 24 hours. That's what Alabama coach Nick Saban did last week to be on the sidelines against Georgia after testing positive in the middle of the week.

Despite the stringent protocols that pertain to athletics, there's a growing sense in Big Ten college towns that rising case counts should render football games ill-advised. On Tuesday, mayors from 11 cities with Big Ten universities wrote a letter to the conference urging it to "define population positivity rates at which it is no longer safe to host a football game given the increased community activity (i.e. social gatherings and alcohol consumption) that games tend to generate."

The Big Ten didn't respond to a request to comment.

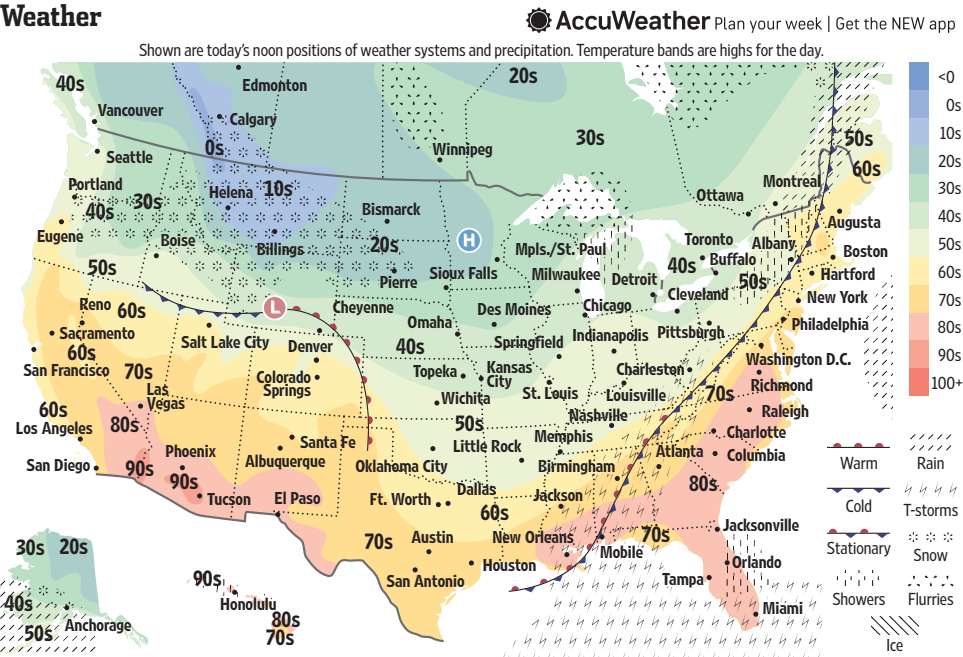
Also Tuesday, officials in Washtenaw County, home to the University of Michigan, issued a two-week "stay in place" order after a surge in cases in Ann Arbor. Cases tied to the university accounted for 61% of new coronavirus infections in October, up from the 2% share prior to move-in in August.

Yet Michigan got the green light for its athletics to forge ahead despite the restrictions, so the Wolverines will travel to Minneapolis to open their season against the University of Minnesota on Saturday. The infection rate on campus topped 8.8% in the seven days preceding Oct. 15.

The infection rate on campus is similarly high at Michigan State, which will host Rutgers. University data indicate that 5.5% of undergraduates tested between Oct. 5 and 12 have coronavirus. At Nebraska, where public outcry sunk an indoor watch party for the Ohio State game 24 hours after it launched, the infection rate is higher still at 5.8%.

Dr. Borchers said that it wasn't up to his medical subcommittee to weigh whether it makes sense to play sports amid worsening outbreaks. "I think that's a societal question that we quite honestly haven't come to have a really good consensus on."

Weather



U.S. Forecasts

s., sunny; p.c., partly cloudy; c., cloudy; sh., showers; t., storms; r., rain; sf., snow flurries; sn., snow; l., ice

City	Today			Tomorrow		
	Hi	Lo	W	Hi	Lo	W
Anchorage	42	34	sh	39	35	r
Atlanta	76	65	sh	80	64	pc
Austin	72	58	pc	84	70	pc
Baltimore	74	46	pc	54	50	c
Boise	54	24	s	42	21	s
Boston	68	41	pc	51	44	pc
Burlington	62	35	c	45	34	pc
Charlotte	82	63	t	73	57	sh
Chicago	47	38	pc	48	40	r
Cleveland	47	39	pc	52	44	r
Dallas	62	54	c	80	53	c
Denver	60	18	c	21	7	sn
Detroit	49	35	pc	50	40	c
Honolulu	87	74	pc	87	75	c
Houston	74	62	pc	83	72	pc
Indianapolis	53	37	c	53	46	c
Kansas City	48	37	pc	44	29	sh
Las Vegas	84	58	s	80	46	s
Little Rock	55	46	c	63	60	c
Los Angeles	72	60	c	68	57	c
Miami	85	76	t	86	75	t
Millwaukee	44	35	pc	44	34	r
Minneapolis	31	24	c	32	18	sn
Nashville	59	52	c	71	59	pc
New Orleans	82	70	pc	83	70	pc
New York City	69	43	c	54	50	pc
Oklahoma City	57	45	c	63	32	pc

City	Today			Tomorrow		
	Hi	Lo	W	Hi	Lo	W
Amsterdam	60	54	c	56	48	r
Athens	79	61	s	78	61	sh
Baghdad	96	60	pc	94	60	pc
Bangkok	88	72	c	90	75	pc
Beijing	66	41	pc	66	41	pc
Berlin	59	49	pc	62	48	pc
Brussels	62	54	pc	57	46	r
Buenos Aires	70	65	pc	71	59	r
Dubai	97	72	pc	95	74	pc
Dublin	53	43	r	52	45	sh
Edinburgh	54	43	r	53	46	sh

City	Today			Tomorrow		
	Hi	Lo	W	Hi	Lo	W
Frankfurt	60	49	pc	63	50	pc
Geneva	61	45	sh	63	48	c
Havana	86	71	t	85	71	t
Hong Kong	77	72	pc	80	73	pc
Istanbul	71	60	pc	74	62	pc
Jakarta	91	77	t	91	76	t
Jerusalem	82	63	pc	78	60	pc
Johannesburg	89	60	pc	90	63	pc
London	62	48	r	56	45	sh
Madrid	61	48	pc	59	44	r
Manila	88	78	t	87	78	t
Melbourne	59	44	sh	57	46	c
Mexico City	75	48	pc	77	51	pc
Milan	65	49	sh	64	56	pc
Moscow	52	42	r	49	38	r
Mumbai	91	80	sh	90	80	t
Paris	63	54	pc	56	47	r
Rio de Janeiro	79	71	c	76	71	t
Riyadh	91	61	pc	90	61	pc
Rome	69	53	sh	68	56	pc
San Juan	90	79	s	89	79	t
Seoul	57	41	s	65	45	pc
Shanghai	66	53	pc	70	57	pc
Singapore	87	77	t	88	78	t
Sydney	79	60	t	61	58	r
Taipei City	75	69	pc	79	71	pc
Tokyo	65	55	pc	67	57	pc
Toronto	47	33	c	45	39	c
Vancouver	47	31	s	43	33	c
Warsaw	60	45	c	61	47	pc
Zurich	60	41	sh	61	45	pc

Pre-Olympic Season Is Crumbling

By LOUISE RADNOFSKY

THE BEIJING WINTER Olympics in 2022 are more than a year away. But Covid-19 headaches are already piling up now in the marquee event, figure skating.

In the crucial pre-Olympic season during normal times, figure skaters earn berths for their countries and get big-arena, bright-lights experience. International judging panels use those moments to eye the athletes they'll see in a year's time. And the Games' host country runs a test event designed to identify any operational ruts that need to be smoothed over in time for the Olympics.

The pre-Olympic season is rapidly crumbling in the pandemic.

As far out as February 2021, the international calendar already resembles Swiss cheese. Four major competitions have been canceled for reasons that bode poorly for the ability of skaters to travel almost anywhere to compete against each other in the foreseeable future.

None of it sends a reassuring signal for the Beijing 2022 Games—or even the rescheduled Tokyo Summer Games that are supposed to precede them in the summer of 2021.

The fall Grand Prix circuit for senior-level skaters was reconfigured to a series of one-stop competitions open only to skaters living nearby;



Bradie Tennell at the Four Continents Championships in February.

the junior circuit was nixed entirely.

Then December's senior Grand Prix Final, which was to have served as the test event for Beijing in hosting the 2022 Games, was scratched. That came after a summer in which the International Skating Union had maintained the event would happen despite a Chinese ban on most sports competitions taking place before the end of 2020.

The ISU had said its Chinese counterparts had given it assurances there would be an exception for Olympic-related events. It attributed the collapse of the Grand Prix Final to the refusal of other federations to send skaters because of the disruptions they would incur during mandatory quarantines on their return home. The cancellation of an ISU short-track speedskating world cup event in Beijing,

another Olympic test event, was announced simultaneously and for similar reasons.

The first leg of the Grand Prix competitive circuit, Skate America, will still kick off Friday in Las Vegas with 34 American entrants, one Chinese skater in the ladies' event; two Israelis and one Canadian in the men's; one Israeli pair; and one Hungarian ice dance couple.

But the next leg, Skate Canada, was canceled last week by the Canadian skating governing body, the City of Ottawa and the Government of Ontario because of "the evolution of the health crisis and our prudence for the health and safety of the athletes, coaches, officials, and volunteers."

For now, Grand Prix events in China, Russia and Japan are still set to go ahead as glorified domestic competitions.

OPINION

THE WEEKEND INTERVIEW with Martin Kulldorff and Jay Bhattacharya | By Tunku Varadarajan

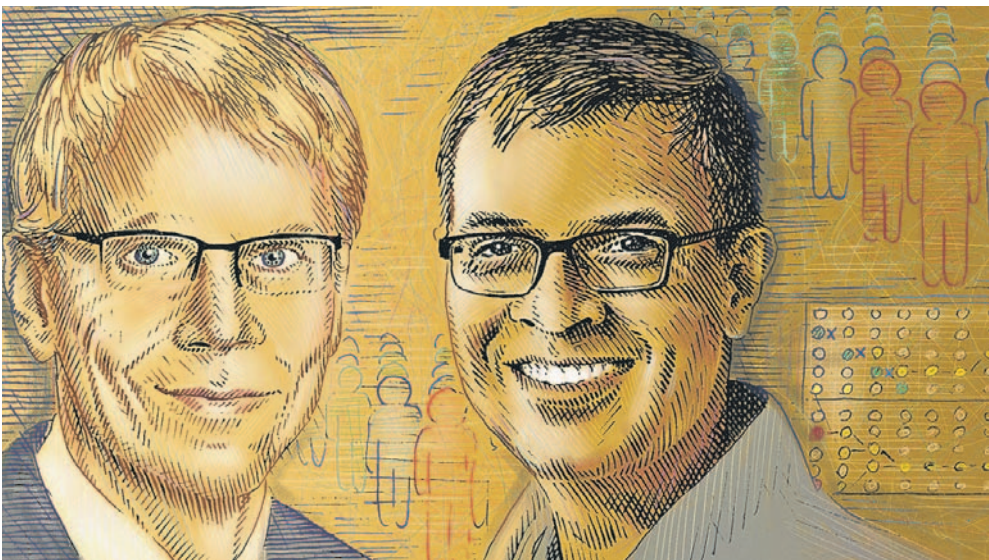
Epidemiologists Stray From the Covid Herd

The Covid rebels make an unlikely pair. Jay Bhat-tacharya was born in Kol-kata, an Indian city that pulsates with people. Martin Kulldorff is from Umeå, Sweden, population 90,000. Yet they have much in common. “I almost view Martin like a brother,” says the talkative Dr. Bhattacharya, 52, who moved to the U.S. with his Bengali parents when he was 4. “I mean, we complete each other’s sentences, as you can see.” The feeling is “mutual,” confirms the more phlegmatic Mr. Kulldorff, 58. Dr. Bhattacharya, a physician and economist, and Mr. Kulldorf, a biostatistician—who study epidemiology at the medical schools at Stanford and Harvard, respectively—are, in the eyes of their critics, dangerous contrarians for op-posing Covid-19 lockdowns. Some of the criticism borders on hyste-ria: A colleague accused Mr. Kull-dorff of practicing “Trumpian epi-demiology” after he gave an interview to the far-left Jacobin magazine in which he called for a “radically different” approach to pandemic management.

The Great Barrington Declaration co-authors on the costs of lockdown, the science of immunity, and the politicization of the coronavirus pandemic.

Most pertinently, the two men are the authors—with Sunetra Gupta, a professor of epidemiology at Oxford—of the Great Barrington Declaration. Published on Oct. 4, the declaration is a cri de coeur against lockdowns and other eco-nomic restrictions that have hob-bled swaths of the world. It asked instead for “focused protection”—a policy of allowing “those at mini-mal risk of death” to resume their lives while societies concentrate on “better protecting those who are at highest risk.” I interview the two men jointly by Zoom—Dr. Bhattacharya in Cali-fornia, Mr. Kulldorff in Massachu-setts. The former speaks of a “sys-tematic media campaign” against the declaration. He says Google “shadow banned” the text in the days after it was published. “If you typed in ‘Great Barrington Declara-tion,’ what would happen is that the actual website would appear on the second or third page, buried under a whole long list of negative stories.” (The matter has since been resolved, he says.) I discover a similar problem with “herd immunity,” which the de-claration sets out as the end point to be reached after societies have minimized “mortality and social harm.” On the morning of our in-terview, I search Google for “herd

immunity” and find that the three links high-lighted by the search en-gine as “Top Stories” are uniformly negative. “The politicization of Covid,” Mr. Kulldorff says, “is extremely unfortunate. People automatically as-sume what your political beliefs are based on your views on the pandemic. This is very strange, in my mind.” Dr. Bhattacharya adds that “the traditional markers for political iden-tity have absolutely no meaning” in the context of Covid. Illustrating the point, Mr. Kulldorff says he has defended Sweden’s Social Democratic govern-ment, which “kept schools open against enormous international criticism,” criticized the British Con-servative government for its lock-down, praised the Republican gover-nor of South Dakota for her open-for-business policies, and criticized the pro-lockdown Republican gover-nor of Massachusetts, where he lives. “I must be very split-minded,” he chuckles, “because in one place I’m a socialist, in another I’m a con-servative.” Dr. Bhattacharya cites an exam-ple of Covid politics that he found “shocking.” When Black Lives Mat-ter protests broke out in the spring, “1,300 epidemiologists signed a let-ter saying that the gatherings were consistent with good public health practice.” The “same epidemiolo-gists” were arguing that “we should essentially quarantine in place.” In his view, this opened up the letter’s signers to “appropriate criticism, that they’d asked people to shut down their businesses, stay out of schools, stop worshipping, and yet they’re saying it’s OK to protest. It just reeked of political bias.” Mr. Kulldorf won’t tell me what his politics are “until this pandemic is over.” A public-health scientist, he says, has to work without “in-fusing his beliefs.” But Dr. Bhat-tacharya is happy to say he skews “center-right.” (Both men have written for these pages.) Dr. Bhat-tacharya says Covid has taught him that he shares values “with people with very, very different political stripes than me. Martin is certainly a great example of this, probably the prime example.” What unites the two men is their revulsion against the “current Covid policy.” This policy “violates every single value I hold dear,” Dr. Bhattacharya says. “Every single one.” Elaborating, he says he ac-cords paramount importance—“de-rived, in my case, from Rawlsian and Christian commitments”—to the protection of the vulnerable and the poor world-wide from “avoidable death and suffering.” The lockdowns have “manifestly failed to do this by inducing eco-nomic collapse that has placed the lives of 130 million poor people



BARBARA KELLEY

world-wide at risk of starvation.” He also values “the norms of medical ethics that militate against doing harm to patients.” The cur-rent lockdown policy, in his telling, asks children and young adults—“who face more medical and psy-chological risk from the lockdowns than they do from Covid infec-tion”—to accept this harm “in the false hope that this sacrifice will protect the vulnerable people.” Mr. Kulldorff describes lock-downs as “the worst assault on the working class in half a century—the worst assault since segregation and the Vietnam War.” Present pol-icies are protecting “very low-risk college students and very low-risk professionals—attorneys, bankers, journalists like you, scientists like me—because basically we can work from home.” (Working at home hasn’t been a hardship for either man, though Dr. Bhattacharya’s life became much easier after he per-suaded a neighbor that it was safe for his young son to play outdoors with the Bhattacharya children. Mr. Kulldorff’s biggest worry isn’t Covid; it’s his 18-year-old son driv-ing the family car.)

In contrast to privileged profes-sionals, Mr. Kulldorff says, the blue-collar class is “out there working, including high-risk people in their 60s. So the working class is building up the population immu-nity that will eventually protect all of us.” Dr. Bhattacharya adds that one of the reasons “minority popu-lations have had higher mortality in the U.S. from the epidemic is be-cause they don’t often have the op-tion—even if they’re older or have co-morbid conditions—to stay at home.” Lockdown policies are not only “regressive,” with their disparate impact on the poor and minorities; they reflect, Dr. Bhattacharya says, a “sort of monomania.” The world “panicked in March, and the focus came to just be on Covid control and nothing else.” People saw pic-tures from Wuhan, China, and Ber-gamo, Italy, and concluded that they had to do “something very,

very drastic in order to address this drastic thing that’s happen-ing.” There was “an action bias that led to the adoption of lockdowns as a form of contagion itself.” (There is an academic paper that models the lockdown-contagion idea, titled “Explaining the homogenous diffu-sion of Covid-19 nonpharmaceutical interventions across heterogeneous countries.”) Mr. Kulldorff says the Covid-19 restrictions violate two cardinal principles of public health. First, “you can’t just look at Covid, you have to look holistically at health and consider the collateral dam-age.” Among the damage: a wors-ening incidence of cardiovascular disease and cancer and an alarming decline in immunization. “People aren’t going to the doctor,” he says. Dr. Bhattacharya also points to the suspension of tuberculosis pro-grams in India and of malaria-erad-ication programs elsewhere. Mr. Kulldorff’s second principle: “You can’t just look short-term.” Dr. Bhattacharya says we will “be counting the health harms from these lockdowns for a very long time.” He says anti-Covid efforts are sowing the seeds of other epidem-ics: “Pertussis—whooping cough—will come back. Polio will come back because of the cessation of vaccina-tion campaigns. All these diseases that we’ve made substantial pro-gress in will start to come back.” Both men say that the Great Bar-ington Declaration is a call for a return to traditional public-health practice. “We’re not arguing for anything really novel,” Dr. Bhat-tacharya says. “It’s a call for think-ing holistically about public health again, not just about one disease.” The declaration also reflects “the norms of open scientific discourse, which have been violated by propo-nents of the Covid lockdowns in the name of protecting the public from ‘dangerous’ ideas.” Mr. Kulldorff laments the closing of scientific minds. He cites “a very strange letter,” an open letter pub-lished on Sept. 9 by 98 faculty members of the Stanford Medical School criticizing Scott Atlas (a

former member of the Stanford med-school fac-ulty), who is on President Trump’s coronavirus task force. “They criticized him very harshly for be-ing unscientific, for mis-representing science,” but offered no evidence, Mr. Kulldorff says. The Swede wrote a letter to the Stanford Daily, a stu-dent newspaper, inviting Dr. Atlas’s critics to “a scientific discussion or discourse, but none of the 98 were willing to en-gage in that.” Mr. Kull-dorff adds that, “from talking to Scott, who I’ve gotten to know some-what through the epi-demic, I learned that not a single one of them reached out to him prior to writing that letter, to verify that he actually believed the things they attributed to him.” We circle back to the idea of herd immunity, which Mr. Kulldorff calls “the most misunderstood term of 2020.” He jokes that use of the term can invite “accusations of mass murder, and Dr. Bhattacharya laments its frequent “mischaracter-ization.” The words, he says, are a “technical term that comes out of standard models of epidemic spread.” It is the “end state of any epidemic where some immunity ac-tually happens after infection. It’s a biological fact. It’s not something nefarious or strange.” Many media outlets, he complains, have said that “we’re advocating a herd-im-munity strategy. That’s a propa-ganda term. After all, the lock-down-until-a-vaccine strategy will also end with herd immunity.” “As an epidemiologist,” says Mr. Kulldorff, “it’s weird and stunning to have this discussion about herd immunity—*flockimmunitet* in Swedish.” He likens it to gravity: “You wouldn’t have physicists talk-ing about whether we believe in gravity or not. Or two airline pilots saying, ‘Should we use the gravity strategy to get the airplane down on the ground?’ Whatever way they fly that plane—or not fly it—grav-ity will ensure eventually that the plane is going to hit the ground.”

Dr. Bhattacharya does say that he would call the idea “popu-lation immunity” if he could rephrase it. The word “herd,” he says, “has connotations that it doesn’t deserve.” But he stresses that herd immunity is a basic sci-en-tific principle, from which flows the one important question epidemiolo-gists and policy makers need to con-sider: “How do we get to that end state with the least amount of dev-astation, the least amount of human misery, the least amount of death?”

Mr. Varadarajan is a Journal contributor and a fellow at New York University Law School’s Clas-sical Liberal Institute.



CROSS COUNTRY By Dave Seminara

This year’s protests in Portland and Bend, Ore., have many wondering how the Beaver State’s increasingly radicalized left will cope if President Trump is re-elected. After the 2016 elec-tion, a group of Ore-gonians submitted a petition for a ballot measure asking voters to consider secession. It went nowhere, but this year could be dif-ferent. A 2017 Zogby poll concluded that a plurality of Americans (39%) believe states have a right to se-cede, so perhaps the idea isn’t far-fetched. Rioters in Portland laid siege to the city’s federal courthouse for more than two months this summer. Mayor Ted Wheeler, who failed to control the chaos, is facing a serious re-election challenge from Sarah Iannarone, an avowed anti-fa sup-porter, who has outraged him and could win the nonpartisan contest. But Portland isn’t the only place in Oregon that seems to be drifting further from what passes for normal in the U.S. Consider the hysterical reaction of locals and election offi-cials in Bend when Immigration and Customs Enforcement agents at-tempted to take two illegal aliens into custody in August. Hundreds of protesters blocked ICE buses, and a 12-hour standoff ensued before agents could remove the men. Bend’s political establishment de-fended the protesters. “I’ve never been so disgusted by my government and so proud of my community,” tweeted John Hummel, Deschutes County’s district attorney. Bend’s Mayor Sally Russell added: “In no

way do I support ICE. Nor can our Bend Police Force, because Oregon is a sanctuary state and it is illegal. . . . ICE is a Federal agency and frus-tratingly we have no power over the Executive Branch of our country.” ICE hasn’t detailed the charges against Marco Zeferino and Josue Cruz-Sanchez, whose detentions triggered the standoff, other than to say they have “violent criminal re-cords” and re-entered the U.S. un-lawfully after prior apprehensions.

Portland’s antifa leftists may want to secede. The state’s rural inland would be happy to let them go.

But both men have arrest records re-ported by local media. Mr. Cruz-San-chez pleaded guilty in 2018 to fourth-degree assault (domestic vio-lence) and felony coercion for injur-ing and threatening his partner. In February 2019 he was arrested for burglary and a parole violation and pleaded guilty to first-degree crim-inal trespassing. Three months later, he pleaded not guilty to fourth-de-gree assault charges related to a separate incident. Mr. Rios was arrested for at-tempting to assault a woman in 2019. The charge was reduced to har-assment and he pleaded guilty. That both men have a history of attacking women doesn’t seem to trouble their left-wing supporters. The men have received free legal as-sistance from a Portland-based non-profit called the Innovation Law Lab, which says on its website that it works “on-the-ground to defeat the

Vast Deportation Machine.” During the siege in Portland and the standoff in Bend, voices in the media began referring to the federal agents sent to enforce the law as “storm troopers.” In many precincts of the left, the police are now viewed as criminals while actual criminals are revered, getting bonus intersec-tionality points if they’re in the country illegally. Other U.S. states are subject to this dynamic, but Ore-gon’s open flirtation with secession makes it notable. Several right-wing groups are gathering signatures from residents of 15 Eastern Oregon counties that have had enough of this coastal in-sanity. They want either to become part of Idaho or form a new state with rural counties of Northern Cali-fornia. Well before Portland became the fashionable place for woke young retirees, Oregon was a reliably red state. Richard Nixon carried it in 1960, 1968 and 1972. Gerald Ford held it in 1976, and Ronald Reagan won by large margins in 1980 and 1984. In 1992 third-party candidate Ross Perot won 24% of the vote, al-most certainly stealing Oregon for Democrat Bill Clinton. Now the heavily pierced and tat-tooned masses in Portland, Eugene and Bend have teamed up with recently arrived hippies from California and metro Seattle to turn the state deep blue west of the Cascades. Oregon hasn’t elected a Republican governor since 1982 or sent a GOP senator to Washington since 2002. Urban pro-gressives dominate state government. I lived in Oregon between 2014 and 2019 and love it dearly despite its dysfunction. It broke my heart to see this summer’s devastating wild-fires tear through the state. I hope and expect that Oregon will remain

in the Union, but I worry that Mr. Trump’s re-election could lead to a mass mental-health emergency. If Oregon’s blue cities try to secede, the gun-loving inland counties aren’t likely to go with them. Things could get ugly. Imagine—if Mr. Trump wins, the bluest part of Oregon could forgo be-coming a new state and go straight to establishing an independent coun-try, where far-out progressive poli-cies can be road-tested. It could ful-fill the wishes of the protesters who occupied a Portland ICE building and establish open borders, though Trump supporters would be able to visit only on special visas. Capital punishment could be outlawed and prisons emptied, except for those es-tablished to be anti-woke terrorists. An independent Oregon could use state funds for cannabis production. Schools would remain virtual for as long as the teachers unions desire,

Notable & Quotable: Hirono

National Review’s John McCor-mack interviewing Sen. Mazie Hi-rono (D., Hawaii), Oct. 22: National Review: Senator, last week at the hearing you men-tioned that you thought it was “offensive and outdated” when Amy Barrett used the [term] “sex-ual preference.” It turns out that Joe Biden said it in May. Ruth Bader Ginsburg said it in 2017. Some of your colleagues on the Judiciary Committee said it maybe in 2010, 2012. Do you stand by that criticism? Mazie Hirono: Well, of course. NR: Do you think Joe Biden should

apologize for saying that in May? Hirono: Well, look, it’s a lesson learned for all of us. But when you’re going on the Supreme Court and you’ve been a judge, as one of my judge friends said, you should know what these words mean. NR: Should Joe Biden apologize, too, like Amy Coney Barrett did? Hirono: Joe Biden is not up for the Supreme Court. NR: He’s up for the presidency. So, he shouldn’t apologize? Hirono: People will decide. NR: You don’t want to call on him to apologize? Hirono: Oh, stop it. The world is in flames.

OPINION

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Mr. Biden Will ‘Transition’ You Now

Joe Biden committed the gaffe of telling the truth about his climate policies Thursday night when he said he wants to “transition” the U.S. from fossil fuels. The Democratic nominee is admitting that he plans to regulate the oil and gas business out of existence, and Americans soon to be “transitioned” may want to pay attention.

“Would you close down the oil industry?” asked President Trump during the debate. Mr. Biden: “By the way, I would transition from the oil industry, yes.” Mr. Trump: “Oh, that’s a big statement.” Mr. Biden: “I will transition. It is a big statement. Because I would stop.” Moderator Kristen Welker: “Why would you do that?” Mr. Biden: “Because the oil industry pollutes, significantly.”

The Biden campaign knew their man made a political mistake because after the debate he tried to backtrack by saying he had merely meant that he’d eliminate subsidies for oil and gas. He also insisted he won’t ban shale drilling, known as fracking, though in the primaries he had said he would.

But Mr. Biden was telling the truth during the debate, and his policy proposals clearly show he plans to strangle oil and gas. Behold the transition strategy.

* * * The playbook is the one Barack Obama used to put coal on the road to ruin by relentlessly raising its cost. This included the Environmental Protection Agency’s mercury rule and Clean Power Plan, which the Supreme Court blocked in 2015 and 2016. But by then it was too late, as coal’s share of power generation fell by a third and 40% of mining jobs were lost between 2009 and 2016.

Mr. Biden’s assault starts with a ban on drilling leases and development on federal land, which accounts for 22% of oil and 12% of gas production, mostly in Gulf Coast states. The American Petroleum Institute estimates this would cost 120,000 jobs in Texas, 62,000 in New Mexico and 21,000 in Alabama.

He also backs “robust federal standards” on methane releases from pipelines as well as storage facilities, which the Trump Administration relaxed. Large producers support stricter methane regulations because they can absorb the cost. But this would squeeze smaller players out of business.

Next he’d use the Endangered Species Act and National Monuments Act to limit lands open to development. The Obama Fish and Wildlife Service in 2015 walled off 10.7 million acres in the western U.S. for the sage grouse, but the Trump Administration pared those back. The transitioning won’t stop there. Mr. Biden wants all infrastructure projects that require

federal approval or receive federal funds to undergo a “climate test.” Regulators under the National Environmental Policy Act already must analyze the direct environmental impact.

But under Mr. Biden’s climate test, federal agencies would also have to project the costs from carbon emissions attributable to every new pipeline or liquefied natural gas terminal. Does it contribute to rising sea levels in Florida, say, or drought in sub-Saharan Africa? These potential costs are so elastically definable that they would let regulators ban almost any oil and gas project if they choose.

The former Veep would also use regulation to choke demand—for instance, by requiring expensive carbon sequestration technologies on power plants. According to Energy Information Administration estimates, these technologies raise the “overnight capital costs” of new gas-fired plants two- to three-fold.

Sweetened subsidies for wind and solar power would also make natural gas less competitive in wholesale markets. Prices for renewables sometimes already fall below zero in some markets. Americans would nonetheless pay more for power in Mr. Biden’s “transition” to a fossil-free grid as gas-fired plants are prematurely retired and replaced with expensive battery storage.

The irony, as Mr. Trump said at the debate, is that fracking is the main reason U.S. energy-related carbon emissions have fallen 15% since 2007. Cheaper natural gas has replaced coal, with the gas share of electric generation nearly doubling since 2007.

* * * All of this will mean hundreds of thousands of lost jobs. Mr. Biden after the debate said he wouldn’t get “rid of fossil fuels for a long time,” perhaps not until 2050, and promised new jobs in green energy. Mr. Obama promised millions of new green jobs too, but the main jobs boom in his two terms was from the fracking revolution due to innovation and market demand.

Will laid-off roustabouts in Ohio get relocation subsidies to install solar panels in California? How about workers in industries that support or depend on fracking, such as Wisconsin sand mines and Pennsylvania cracker plants? Even the United Auto Workers project that increasing electric car production over the next several years would cost 35,000 jobs.

Mr. Biden’s energy transition has nothing to do with consumer choice or technological innovation, the way society moved from the horse-and-buggy to autos or from print newspapers to the internet. He’d use government coercion. The targets can at least take comfort that they won’t be banned. They’ll have the good fortune of being transitioned.

Amazon Uncancels Shelby Steele

Recently we wrote about a new documentary that Amazon kept off its streaming platform. Produced by scholar and occasional Journal contributor Shelby Steele and his filmmaker son, Eli, “What Killed Michael Brown?” challenges the dominant narrative of systemic racism invoked to explain the killing of the black teenager by a Ferguson, Mo., police officer, which was then followed by riots. The film includes many voices from the community that are being heard for the first time.

Our columnist Jason Riley broke the story about Amazon’s attempts to suppress a work by one of America’s leading experts on race relations. These pages followed with an edito-

rial noting that Amazon was inviting a political backlash. Well, the backlash came. The good news is that Amazon has now reversed itself. Last we checked, the Steeles’ film has been at or near the top in “Most Wished For in Documentary.”

There was no good reason for Amazon to reject this thoughtful documentary. The film’s rise to the top of Amazon’s chart after the ban was removed suggests that many Amazon customers agree. It’s a lesson for Amazon but also for conservatives who want to change the law to combat Big Tech’s political bias. Negative attention and old-fashioned consumer push-back can be powerful forces on their own. Download and enjoy.

Gambling With Colorado’s Electors

Americans are increasingly divided along party lines not only about the presidential candidates but how the President should be elected. The National Popular Vote Interstate Compact (NPVIC), which aims to replace the state-based Electoral College with a single plebiscite, has benefited from this polarization as Democratic state legislatures approve the compact at a faster pace.

On Nov. 3 voters in increasingly blue Colorado will decide to accept or reject their Legislature’s 2019 entry into the compact. States representing 196 electoral votes have joined the compact out of 270 needed for it to go into effect. If voters reject Proposition 113, Colorado would be the first state to join the compact and then leave—underscoring the compact’s instability and blunting its momentum.

If voters approve it, they could be paving the way for the destruction of America’s two-century-old presidential election system. Democratic-controlled Virginia—and perhaps Minnesota and North Carolina if Democrats do well in legislative elections there—could bring the total number of electoral votes among compact signatories well into the 200s before the 2024 presidential election.

Under the Electoral College system, states award their electors to whichever candidate won the most votes in that state (or, in Nebraska and Maine, in a given congressional district). By signing onto the NPVIC, states effectively disenfranchise themselves. They agree to give away their electors to a candidate most of their own voters may have rejected.

Yet legislators are increasingly interested in empowering their national party rather than their state and its voters. Fueled by out-of-state

contributions, Colorado’s anti-Electoral College campaign is outspending the opposition.

We believe the Electoral College plays an important role protecting election integrity and balancing geographic interests. But even voters sympathetic to the idea of a popular vote should think about what this extra-constitutional scheme would mean for the country.

The 2020 vote-by-mail controversies have offered Americans a glimpse of what it might look like to have disputed election results. If the NPVIC went into effect by, say, 2028, the 2020 uncertainty would look trivial. The U.S. would have two parallel election systems—one in its tradition and the Constitution, and one agreed to by a minority of legislatures representing larger and more liberal states.

The departure of just one or two states could sink the compact in an election year and upend candidate strategies. That could happen if Democrats saw an advantage in the Electoral College map—as they did in 2012—or if partisan control of a state changed. Courts could strike down the compact under the Constitution’s Interstate Commerce Clause.

A popular vote election could also encourage sectional candidates who can compete in just a few states. The general presidential election could resemble a primary—with no runoff. Oh, and there’s nothing stopping progressive states from lowering their voting age from 18, among other changes for partisan advantage in the national vote tally. Since most voting rules are made at the state level, Republican states might try to jury-rig their own process in response.

This is not a path to greater democratic legitimacy. As an old British political refrain goes: “Reform? Aren’t things bad enough already?”

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Bidenomics: Surprise on the Upside or Not?

Your editorial “The Cost of Bidenomics” (Oct. 19) lays out the conservative Hoover Institution’s conclusion that Joe Biden’s economic policies will be costly to average Americans in the years to come. You mention that Moody’s economic forecasts draw the opposite conclusion, but Moody’s is hardly alone. Many other economists, including those from the hardly liberal firm of Goldman Sachs tend to agree with Moody’s. So how does one decide who is right in such a complex area? My admittedly simplistic approach is to consider how the Biden plans will affect different income groups. It appears that much of the taxes will fall on the high-income groups who tend to invest their money, while much of the benefit will go to middle- and lower-income groups which tend to spend their money. If so, Joe Biden’s policies will be more stimulative to the economy. I think the economists at Moody’s and Goldman Sachs have this one right.

STEPHEN BROWN
Palm Beach, Fla.

You cite a study finding that Joe Biden’s primary economic proposals would reduce the income of the average household by \$6,500 per year and eliminate 4.9 million jobs by 2030. That’s an underestimate, because the study did not take into account other Biden proposals that would shrink the economy.

Vice President Biden supports restrictions on freelance work and small businesses that would reduce economic activity further. He supported California’s AB5, which curbed freelance work and eliminated the positions of thousands of

independent contractors. He wants to implement it nationally.

Mr. Biden also supports the BE HEARD in the Workplace Act, which would subject even the smallest employers to lawsuits for unlimited punitive damages and lawyers’ fees, and impose an expansive definition of “harassment” that would require them to police speech and behavior by their employees even outside the workplace.

SYLVIE SAMPERE
Arlington, Va.

Your editorial “Biden’s Tax Whopper” (Oct. 17) covers the bases for individual taxpayers. But you miss Vice President Biden’s call for corporations to “pay their fair share” as his justification to increase corporate income-tax rates. His platform of higher corporate income taxes reveal that, after more than 40 years in Washington, Vice President Biden learned nothing about corporate income taxes.

Corporate income taxes are a business expense, just like rent and salaries. Those expenses are included in the cost of the goods and services those corporations sell, and determine their selling prices. Higher corporate taxes can mean higher prices, which makes American corporations less competitive with their foreign rivals who enjoy lower taxes. Corporations don’t really pay income taxes—their customers do as part of the purchase price of those goods and services. Higher corporate taxes are counterproductive to economic growth. Reducing corporate costs, including lowering income taxes, stimulates growth.

STUART R. STEINMARK, CPA
Sandy Springs, Ga.

Guns, Donna’s Law and Preventing Suicides

Gun violence is tragic in all of its dimensions; certainly in facilitating suicides. If despondent people will self-advocate to remove gun threats, the authors will have made a notable, lifesaving impact (“A Libertarian Approach to Reducing Gun Deaths,” Review, Oct. 17). More generally, they are also speaking to a wider perspective on gun-related deaths that this issue needs to be reframed as one of public safety, not control. Regardless of entrenched positions, gun responsibility isn’t tantamount to gun confiscation. The model for personal responsibility is well known to all of us: regulation of our automobiles. If you don’t have a driver’s license and proof of insurance, sorry, you can’t buy a car. Do the same with gun ownership. Require licensing and liability insurance with discounts earned for taking gun-safety classes, use of trigger locks, secure storage via gun safes and off-site storage, etc.

GREG HOUSER
Portland, Ore.

As a U.S. citizen with lifelong major depression, I found this article

about Donna’s Law, which allows individuals to cede their Second Amendment rights to purchase firearms, to be both condescending and invalid. This is a mental-health-treatment issue, not a gun-control issue. This is an issue of real horror faced by intelligent people who reach the end of their ability to endure another minute of mental torture. We need mental-health outreach, advanced treatments, more money for psychiatric-drug research and understanding. Those of us with mental illness aren’t drunken drivers who refuse to give up our car keys. We aren’t “Clint Eastwood types” at a gun range, laden with automatic rifles. But thanks for the extra stigma.

SUE MCCRAVEN
Williamsburg, Mich.

For goodness’ sake, we allow compulsive gamblers to ban themselves from casinos. Why haven’t all 50 states already passed a version of Donna’s Law? Or better yet, why isn’t this a federal law?

STEVE KLOUDA
Sugar Grove, Ill.

Original Sin Beats States’ MBO, ZBB Plans

Jonathan Williams and Dave Trabant’s “The Alternative to a Bailout for Fiscally Mismanaging States” (Cross Country, Oct. 17), supporting priority-based budgeting as “the alternative to a bailout,” ignores the real root of the problem. Having witnessed the rise and fall of MBO, ZBB, TQI and other frameworks for improving government budgeting, one can see that the major impediment to change isn’t technical but human. Organization

Pelosi’s Wheels Leave the Ground When Confronted

Regarding Peggy Noonan’s “Everyone Has Gone Crazy in Washington” (Declarations, Oct. 17): You know that Speaker Nancy Pelosi is delusional when she accuses Wolf Blitzer and CNN of being apologists for President Trump. CNN has been the biggest critic of President Trump and everything he has done for the last 3 1/2 years.

Mrs. Pelosi was totally pushed back on her heels when Wolf Blitzer, of all people, dared to press her on any subject, let alone the stimulus bill, stalled in Congress, for over \$1.8 trillion.

How dare an ignorant citizen ask for action when people are going broke, losing their homes and don’t have money for food? Who can understand Washington except the speaker and her cohorts? Certainly not a normal human who pays for her to sit in Congress. Isn’t she our representative?

RICHARD LEVY
Washington

Letters intended for publication should be emailed to wsj.letters@wsj.com. Please include your city, state and telephone number. All letters are subject to editing, and unpublished letters cannot be acknowledged.

Pepper ... And Salt

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL



“Yes, I do need an answer right now.”

OPINION

A Good Night for Trump if It’s Not Over



DECLARATIONS
By Peggy Noonan

The hour and a half between 9 and 10:30 p.m. ET on Thursday, Oct. 23, at Belmont University in Nashville was the last chance Donald Trump had to turn it all around. Did he? Could he? It’s late in the game, most peoples’ minds are set, and more than 40 million have already voted. But he did himself some good. He wasn’t a belligerent nut. He held himself together, controlled himself, presented opening remarks that made sense. He won, not a dazzling win but a win that kept him in the game. He succeeded in doing what Joe Biden didn’t have to do: If you wanted or

Biden has a formidable lead, but not a flawless campaign. And small signs point in Trump’s direction.

needed an excuse, an out, to vote for Mr. Trump, if you wanted an argument that justified your decision in a conversation in the office, he probably gave you what you need. It was a good debate. The candidates argued big things. Both had some good moves. Mr. Trump was smart to dwell, early on, on opening up economically. He hung a “Closed” sign around Mr. Biden’s neck. Mr. Biden deftly turned accusations of familial venality into reminders of the president’s refusal, after five years of demands, to show his tax returns. Mr. Biden too often lapses into government-speak—“the public option.” He was in government 47

years, and sounds it. Mr. Trump’s power, recovered Thursday night, is to speak like normal people, so you can understand him without having to translate what he’s saying in your head. He appears to have lied a great deal. That will be adjudicated in the coming days. Moderator Kristen Welker was fabulous—fair-minded, professional and in control. What a star. All that said, where are we? This close to Election Day and everyone with bated breath. Everyone sees the polls, the clear Biden lead nationwide and the smaller lead in most of battleground states. We know what those polls suggest. But there is little air of defeat among Trump supporters and no triumphalism among Democrats. Trump supporters believe he will win because of his special magic, Trump foes fear he will win because of his dark magic. Pollsters and pundits stare at the data and wonder how to quantify his unfathomable magic. It’s remarkable that all in their different ways put such stock in the president’s powers, his ability to pull a black swan out of a hat. I believe he is not magic and faces a big loss, and from the way he’s acted the week leading up to the debate—flailing about, stirring themeless chaos—so does he. But there are a few points that contradict the picture. One is the number 56. That is the percentage of registered voters who, asked by Gallup if they are better off than they were four years ago, say yes. (Gallup has asked this regularly in election years since 1984.) Fifty-six percent—in a pandemic, after protests, riots and recession! It’s only a poll, but after Gallup, a New York Times/Siena poll asked the same question, and 49% said they were better off. What’s interesting, though, is that when Siena asked respondents if the country was better off than it was four years ago, only 39% said yes.



At Thursday’s debate

What does this mean? No one knows. If the polling is more or less correct, you wonder: Will people vote on their own circumstances or what they perceive to be the country’s? The second data point has to do with Mr. Trump’s rallies—big, boisterous and frequent. He’s been in Michigan and North Carolina and has rallies planned this weekend in Ohio, Wisconsin and New Hampshire. “Gastonia Municipal Airport was packed shoulder to shoulder Wednesday night as tens of thousands of people showed up,” read a local North Carolina news report. Mr. Biden doesn’t seem to draw much of anybody, and doesn’t try. He doesn’t have rallies, and barely even appearances at this point. You can, seeing the polls, hypothesize that what you’re seeing at the Trump rallies is a political movement in its death throes. But I don’t know, they look lively to me. You might say, “The Democrats aren’t having rallies because they are more careful about the virus.” Fair enough, but in a lifetime watching politics, sometimes up close, I have never seen crowds keep away from someone they love. They’ll come whether you want them or not; they’ll find

out you’re coming and stand at the side of the road to cheer as the motorcade goes by. It’s funny not to see any of this from the Democrat this year. You can’t gainsay a strategy that seems to be working; internal Democratic critics are called bedwetters. But it doesn’t feel right. Mr. Biden should be talking every day in a big way to the country he wishes to lead. He shouldn’t be seated in a handsome chair waiting for the crown to be passed, or going out for ice cream in a mask like John Dillinger on the lam. Maybe after the debate he’ll change. Turnout looks to be historic. There are predictions that it will reach 150 million, even 160 million. In 2016, 137 million people voted. The changes in how we vote, from early voting to voting by mail, all hastened by the pandemic, will have been established after this election, and won’t go away. This will make things appear more democratic and may leave them more Democratic. Progressive preoccupation with the Electoral College is about to diminish, sharply.

Russia and the Soviet Union: Solzhenitsyn Knew the Difference

By Ignat Solzhenitsyn

The insane difficulty of the situation is that I can’t ally myself with the Communists, our country’s butchers—but I can’t ally myself with our country’s enemies either,” my father, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, wrote in 1982. “And all this time I have no home ground to support me. The world is big, but there’s nowhere to go.” The great author, through his book “The Gulag Archipelago” (1973) and fiery speeches in the West, earned his reputation as communism’s most implacable foe. Yet, as evident in the quote above from his memoirs (now appearing for the first time in English), during the Cold War he was already discerning a new and unforeseen peril: that Russian-Western mistrust might endure long past the fall of communism.

‘I can’t ally myself with the Communists,’ my father said, but not ‘with our country’s enemies either.’

Fast-forward to 2020. Grievances between Russia and the West have been amply cataloged: arms programs, NATO expansion, Yukos, Kosovo, color revolutions, Ukraine, Crimea, poisonings, elections. So could a relationship really be reforged if these proximate offenses were mitigated? The two major U.S. political parties could never unite around a principled anticommunism during the Cold War but now sing from the same hymnal about the menace of an ever-rising Russian nationalism. This peculiar circumstance, in the context of a “Cold Peace” that has stubbornly prevailed for a quarter-century, exposes a deeper cleft and demands an examination of historical roots. In the late 1990s, when I first read

these memoirs of my father’s years in the West, I flitted through passages ruminating on East-West conflict, assuming that those questions were moot, consigned to the ash heap of history by the dramatic opening of the Iron Curtain and fall of the Berlin Wall and the signing of the Start I arms-control treaty. But over the past three years preparing the first English edition of these volumes, I have come to see how prescient Solzhenitsyn was in apprehending a “pivot of accusations towards Russia” herself. Resentful 1970s émigrés were prodding the West to espy its true enemy not in communism, but in an irredeemable Russia. Prerevolutionary Russia had been exoriated by 1920s Western progressives for opposing Bolshevism, but now that opinion had turned, she was damned for being enslaved by it. “How could it have happened?” Solzhenitsyn asks. He argues in a chapter titled “Russian Pain” that Russia’s “excessive, senseless military actions in Europe” in the 18th and 19th centuries had put the West on guard, while her ossified governing apparatus failed to absorb Western civic “lessons of openness,” or at least to justify its own actions. Meanwhile, fanatical exiled revolutionaries in Europe were drawing a grossly distorted picture of Russia as a retrograde authoritarian prison of nations—and even their most brazen exaggerations took hold in the absence of an articulate counternarrative. On the cusp of the 20th century, aggressive Russian revolutionary terrorism, abetted by a fawning intelligentsia, was met by a nationalist right wing, which resorted to abuse instead of making the case for the moderate path of social evolution attempted by the reformist Prime Minister Pyotr Stolypin from 1906 until his assassination in 1911. Later—decades after Lenin’s “Bolshevik steamroller” had crushed all, especially the Russian patriots who had sought to defend traditional val-

ues within a pluralistic society—the parody of Russian patriotism that sprung up in the 1960s and ’70s was a pagan Bolshevik nationalism that “wrote ‘god’ without an initial capital and ‘Government’ with,” as Solzhenitsyn puts it. My father’s “healing, salutary, moderate patriotism”—one freed from imperial ambitions and grounded in a “preservation of the people”—never had the chance to take root in Russia. His vision was odiously conflated with that “Bolshevik nationalism,” another smear of Russia by vengeful émigrés accepted all too readily in the West. After the fall of communism, Solzhenitsyn’s call for repentance, for a historical reckoning on the model of Germany’s post-Nazi *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, went unheeded. And so official government support

for memorials of communist repression and the incorporation of “The Gulag Archipelago” into high-school curricula paradoxically coexists in some quarters today with a noxious strain of thought that Joseph Stalin—the chief butcher of Russians—was a Russian patriot, while Solzhenitsyn—the chief enemy of Russia’s oppressors—was a traitor. No wonder, then, that the West has blurred any meaningful distinction between the totalitarian jackboot of the U.S.S.R. and the soft authoritarianism of a comparatively free Russia, and confused “Russian” and “Soviet,” misunderstanding three centuries of Russian history and the antinational essence of communism. “ ‘Russian’ is to ‘Soviet’ as ‘man’ is to ‘disease,’ ” wrote Solzhenitsyn. An unintended consequence:

the unprecedented Russian consensus of liberal society and illiberal government, who agree on little, except that the West won’t like Russia no matter what she does. If Western policy makers’ objective remains to bring Russia into the community of free nations, they might heed Solzhenitsyn’s plea and engage with Russia equitably, according to the virtues or failings of current policy, rather than judge her reflexively by a fictitious, maleficent historical narrative that bars any path forward. *Mr. Solzhenitsyn is a conductor, pianist and editor of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn’s memoirs, including “Between Two Millstones, Book 2: Exile in America, 1978-1994,” forthcoming in November.*

The U.S. Has an ‘Intelligence’ Problem



BUSINESS WORLD
By Holman W. Jenkins, Jr.

Let’s talk about lying. They admitted to having no evidence, but 50 former U.S. intelligence officials claimed the leak of Hunter Biden emails has “all the classic earmarks of a Russian information operation.” No it doesn’t. The Russians have easier, less falsifiable ways to put disinformation into circulation. In fact, nothing about the laptop episode is reminiscent of Russian efforts with which we’ve become familiar. Given much documentary and testimonial evidence as well as Occam’s razor, the laptop is exactly what the New York Post says it is. The Biden campaign has conceded as much. The 50-plus signers know it. Theirs is nakedly a campaign of disinformation in the middle of an election. I am sorry to say to some of my readers: If you’re so dumb as to lose all critical judgment every time you hear the word “Russians,” somebody will take advantage of it. As far as I know, nothing is illegal about former spooks conspiring to influence an election. A working assumption, though, has always been that a fearless and truth-telling press was ready to expose and shame such activity. More than anything on Hunter’s laptop, *this* is the issue that should concern you now. The Steele dossier came with no documentation, no declared sources, and was refuted by everybody named in it—and yet countless media and political types had no problem promoting it to roil our politics. The most important and likeliest Russian disinformation was made-up email content, denied by the Democratic and Obama officials involved, that you still haven’t been told about. This suspected Russian disinformation embarked James

Comey on his chaotic interventions the 2016 election, but the details remain conveniently hidden in the only section of Justice Department Inspector General Michael Horowitz’s reports to be buried under a top-secret classification. The signers of the Biden defense misdirection, led by Obama intelligence chieftains John Brennan and James Clapper, are a who’s who of those behind earlier fiascoes. Many were heard also to claim that another recent disclosure is Russian disinformation: a document, from July 2016, indicating that the Russians knew from a source inside Hillary’s campaign about her plan to tar Donald Trump with false treason allegations.

America’s retired spies want to be in charge of picking our presidents.

Forget the source. The Russians could have learned the same information from the news. What’s key is that the CIA immediately briefed President Obama—essentially telling Mr. Obama that the Russians knew of the use of Russia to smear a U.S. presidential candidate and then president, which Mr. Obama soon would be participating in himself. It all underlines a point I made here three years ago: At bottom, the collusion farrago features “the FBI, U.S. intelligence leakers, the press or major party figures ‘colluding’ (in one sense of the word), wittingly or semi-wittingly, with Russian intelligence.” Hillary’s Steele dossier, we now learn, was the brainstorm of a junior-league fabulist, Igor Danchenko, with Russian spy connections. The FBI’s improper interventions in the 2016 campaign were justified by pointing to dubious, likely fabricated Russian intelli-

gence. The partisan leakers, the uncritical press reporters who abetted them, Adam Schiff, the many Democrats who promoted the collusion theory—all were effectively colluding with Russia to poison our politics. Fiona Hill, the Brookings Institution sapient who served for a while in the Trump administration, finally emerged from the fog last month. In a New York Times op-ed, she noted that while Kremlin diplomats unperuasively tried to deny meddling in U.S. politics, the Russians very persuasively pointed out that Americans turned molehills into mountains to serve their own grubby domestic agendas. No kidding. The full truth, were it known, likely would be so embarrassing, so discrediting, to the CIA and FBI that neither would survive without a major keelhauling. Even the Trump-hating former FBI counterintelligence deputy Peter Strzok, in his new book, has no doubt whose meddling changed the 2016 election outcome. It wasn’t Russia’s, it was the FBI’s. The saddest part: So bamboozled and neurotic is our press, because of its anti-Trump virtue signaling, that it now angrily demands that the public be kept in the dark about matters that are the definition of news. The New York Times, the New Yorker and ABC News once led in exposing Hunter Biden’s history of trading on his father’s public status. Now they seek to suppress the story to protect Candidate Biden. None of us likes to think we aren’t brave, but journalists and motorcycle gang members are perhaps unique in interpreting their own slavish conformity as rugged individualism. A “profession” whose daily existence is such a stark contradiction to its self-image, first of all, loses any claim to respect as a profession. Soon after, it’s likely to lose its customers.



Four. Years. Running.

T-Mobile For Business was just awarded **#1 in Business Wireless Customer Satisfaction** by J.D. Power for the fourth year in a row.

Again winning top spot in all business sizes including large enterprises, small-medium and very small businesses.

Plus, we ranked **#1 in Performance & Reliability** and **#1 in Customer Service** for large enterprise and small-medium sized businesses.

Award-winning customer satisfaction and America’s largest 5G network. Discover more at **T-Mobile.com/No-compromise**

The T-Mobile® Business Advantage

Largest 5G network.
Best customer support.
Insanely great value.
No compromise.

5G: Capable device required; coverage not available in some areas. T-Mobile received the highest score among small/medium and large enterprise business wireless providers in the J.D. Power 2017-2020 U.S. Business Wireless Satisfaction Studies of customers’ satisfaction with their current wireless provider. Visit [jdpower.com/awards](https://www.jdpower.com/awards)

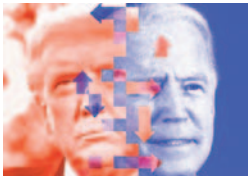




Hidden Assets
How tax evaders
stash their cash in
offshore accounts **B4**

EXCHANGE

Voting Shares
The election outcome
may not be good news
for investors **B13**



BUSINESS | FINANCE | TECHNOLOGY | MANAGEMENT THE WALL STREET JOURNAL. * * * * Saturday/Sunday, October 24 - 25, 2020 | **B1**

DJIA 28335.57 ▼ 28.09 0.1% **NASDAQ** 11548.28 ▲ 0.4% **STOXX 600** 362.50 ▲ 0.6% **10-YR. TREAS.** ▲ 2/32, yield 0.840% **OIL** \$39.85 ▼ \$0.79 **GOLD** \$1,902.00 ▲ \$0.90 **EURO** \$1.1862 **YEN** 104.73

The Power of Good Chemistry

A hunt for the solution to Covid-19 is producing an unlikely team of rivals in the cutthroat world of pharmaceuticals, led by British giant GlaxoSmithKline

By JOSEPH WALKER



DANIEL HERTZBERG

The Covid-19 pandemic is turning some fierce drug-industry foes into the best of frenemies. The pharmaceutical giant standing at the center of this team of rivals is GlaxoSmithKline PLC, the world's largest vaccine maker by sales. The British company is jointly developing a Covid-19 antibody drug with a San Francisco upstart, offering rivals a proprietary ingredient that is designed to boost a vaccine's power and planning to share research study results. "We felt this very unusual situation required something that GSK hadn't done before, and something we hadn't seen in the industry before either," says Roger Connor, president of Glaxo's vaccines business. What makes Glaxo's collaboration so unusual is that competition typically defines the relationship among drugmakers. Company researchers race to be first to bring a new kind of therapy to market or work on treatments that can outdo older medicines, while marketers roll out campaigns designed to boost sales at the expense of rivals. In the age of Covid-19, old adversaries are

9
The number of pharmaceutical firms that made a joint pledge not to rush a Covid-19 vaccine

1 Billion
Doses of adjuvant, a vaccine ingredient, that GlaxoSmithKline expects to make in 2021

100 Million
Doses of a coronavirus vaccine jointly produced by Sanofi and GlaxoSmithKline that the U.S. agreed to purchase if authorized

Source: the companies, WSJ reporting

uniting around a common enemy: the new coronavirus. Their nascent partnership is now visible in everything from trials to research to manufacturing. Glaxo and eight other pharmaceutical firms even took the rare step of issuing a joint pledge last month to seek regulatory approvals for their vaccines only after proving their safety and effectiveness in large, final-stage clinical trials. The most common area of cooperation thus far is manufacturing. Some longtime rivals are striking deals to stretch their capacity to meet anticipated demand. Roche Holding AG is helping manufacture an antiviral drug in development by rival Regeneron. Amgen Inc. will help make Eli Lilly & Co.'s antiviral drugs if the treatments are authorized by regulators. Pfizer has dedi-

RACE FOR A VACCINE

The Holdout
Why Merck was slow to get started—and is playing catch-up now

State of Play
Who is leading in the quest for a vaccine? **B6-7**

Please turn to page B7

U.S. Curbs Hinder Huawei's Growth

Restrictions on access to chips pose threat

By DAN STRUMPF

HONG KONG—Pressure is mounting on China's **Huawei Technologies Co.**, as growth slows in the face of tightening U.S. restrictions on its chip supplies and as an increasing number of countries shun its 5G gear. The Shenzhen-based technology giant reported a slowdown in revenue growth for the first nine months of the year Friday, a day after it unveiled a new smartphone that it says could be the last to run on the advanced chips designed by its own engineers. Huawei is nearly six weeks into a new era in which it no longer has access to the global market for computing chips, following a Trump administration ban on their export without a license. The rules have forced Huawei to draw on an inventory stockpile to build its smartphones and telecom equipment that analysts say could run out as soon as the middle of next year, barring a reprieve from Washington. "The U.S. administration has set up a framework where they decide what Huawei can or cannot do," said Pierre Ferragu, head of telecom infrastructure at New Street Research. Huawei has disputed U.S. assertions that its gear is unsafe or could be used for espionage by Beijing. Nine-month revenue at Huawei rose 9.9% to 671 billion yuan, or about \$100 billion. That was a slowdown from the 24% growth pace in the year-earlier period. The company said its results "basically met expectations." For the third quarter alone, revenue growth slowed even more sharply to 3.7%, down from 27% a year ago. The more urgent problem for Huawei is its ability to source chips, the backbone of virtually every product Huawei sells. Over the summer, the Commerce Department announced new rules barring any company from selling chips to Huawei made using U.S. technology as of Sept. 15. Virtually all modern chips

Please turn to page B2

Yale Presses Its Money Managers On Diversity

By JULIET CHUNG AND DAWN LIM

America's most prominent endowment chief has a message for the firms that manage the school's money: Hire more women and minorities, or possibly lose the university's backing. David Swensen, the investment chief of Yale University's \$31.2 billion endowment, told the dozens of firms that manage Yale's money they would be measured on their progress increasing the diversity of their investment staffs. Mr. Swensen said the Yale Investments Office would be working to improve its own composition, too. The national discussion over race has resulted in an accelerated push for diversity on boards and in companies across the U.S. It has also prompted some investors to look at investment management, one of the least diverse fields on Wall Street. A 2019 study commissioned by the Knight Foundation found women- and minority-owned firms held less than 1% of assets managed by mutual funds, hedge funds, private-equity funds and real-estate funds in 2017, despite performance on par with firms not mostly owned by women or minorities. Yale's endowment, one of the biggest in the country, is watched closely by other schools given Mr. Swensen's stature. He has championed the idea that big investors should diversify beyond stocks and bonds and incorporate qualitative assessments of managers into investment decisions. His approach has generated big gains for Yale and reshaped how endowments and foundations invest. "Our goal is a level of diversity in investment-management firms that reflects the diversity in the world in

Please turn to page B11

Help! The Pandemic Turned My Parents Into Day Traders

By STEPHANIE YANG

In the past few months, my parents have become obsessed with Zoom. Not for its software, which facilitates our family's biweekly video calls, but for its stock, whose wild ride has at times made them thousands of dollars in a matter of days. After years of clipping coupons, scouring sales and stashing their savings in index funds, my mother and father have turned into avid day traders amid the pandemic. They're not the only ones. The ranks of amateur day traders have swollen this year, helping to create a record number of new accounts at brokerages like Charles Schwab and TD Ameritrade. By some estimates, such small-scale speculators now account for as much as a quarter of overall trading activity. As their presence grows, so do the warnings about the risks they pose, both to their own finances and to the stability of the broader market. While it's difficult to pin down their exact impact, a rush of inexperienced traders tends to cause alarm among institutional in-



SOL COTTI

vestors, who take increased retail trading as a sign of rising speculation and worry that a sudden turn in sentiment could send the market spiraling. Retail trading booms have

presaged dramatic busts in recent decades, such as the dot-com bubble in the late 1990s and the cryptocurrency craze a few years ago.

Please turn to page B4

THE SCORE

THE BUSINESS WEEK IN 7 STOCKS

GOLDMAN SACHS GROUP INC.

**GS**
1.2% Goldman Sachs is paying billions to wipe the stain from its dealings with the Malaysian investment fund known as 1MDB. A Goldman subsidiary on Thursday pleaded guilty to conspiring to violate U.S. antibribery laws, and the bank agreed to pay nearly \$3 billion to officials in four countries. Goldman's deal with authorities brings an end to a long-running investigation of its role in the global bribery ring and allows the bank itself to avoid prosecution. All in, its 1MDB penalties to date amount to more than \$5 billion. Goldman shares **rose 1.2% Thursday**.

NETFLIX INC.

**NFLX**
6.9% The king of streaming is fending off fresh rivals to the throne. Netflix on Tuesday said subscriber growth slowed in the third quarter, an underwhelming result after its breakneck pace of growth in the first half of the year. The company reported 2.2 million new subscribers in the quarter, falling short of its forecast in July of 2.5 million. With Walt Disney Co. focusing on streaming initiatives and AT&T Inc. reporting solid growth in its Netflix-like streaming service HBO Max, Netflix is looking for ways to stay on top in an increasingly crowded streaming market. Netflix shares **fell 6.9% Wednesday**.

PERFORMANCE OF TECH STOCKS THIS PAST WEEK

Source: FactSet



ALPHABET INC.

**GOOG**
1.4% The Justice Department filed its long-anticipated antitrust lawsuit against Google Tuesday, targeting the tech giant's search engine and related advertising business. A partnership with Apple Inc. is at the heart of the case, potentially threatening a lucrative revenue stream for both. Microsoft Corp., the target of the last major tech antitrust campaign in 1998, may benefit the most from DOJ's new lawsuit. Alphabet shares **rose 1.4% Tuesday**.

TESLA INC.

**TSLA**
0.7% Tesla has recharged its batteries after the pandemic disrupted operations earlier in the year. The electric-car maker on Wednesday reported a net profit of \$331 million for the three-month period ended Sept. 30 and posted a record \$8.77 billion in revenue. Chief Executive Elon Musk called it Tesla's "best quarter in history," and the company revived its pre-pandemic target to build at least 500,000 vehicles this year. The Silicon Valley car maker was buoyed in part by lower battery and purchasing costs at its production facility in China. Tesla shares **rose 0.7% Thursday**.

PROCTER & GAMBLE CO.

**PG**
0.4% Makers of cleaning products are mopping up on the pandemic-driven demand for better hygiene. P&G on Tuesday reported its biggest global sales increase in 15 years, logging the strongest growth in the unit that sells Swiffer mops and Dawn dish soaps. The maker of Tide detergent and Gillette razors said sales gains early in the pandemic were boosted by consumers stocking up for lockdowns. But demand in recent months appears driven by a sustained focus on home cleaning and personal hygiene, the company said. P&G shares **rose 0.4% Tuesday**.

WALMART INC.

**WMT**
0.2% The world's largest retailer is suing Uncle Sam. Walmart said its lawsuit against the federal government is an attempt to strike a pre-emptive blow against an impending opioid-related civil lawsuit from the Justice Department. In its complaint, Walmart said the DOJ and Drug Enforcement Administration want to scapegoat the company for the federal government's regulatory and enforcement shortcomings. Walmart's move came after Purdue Pharma LP pleaded guilty to three felonies related to its marketing and distribution of OxyContin. Walmart shares **rose 0.2% Friday**.

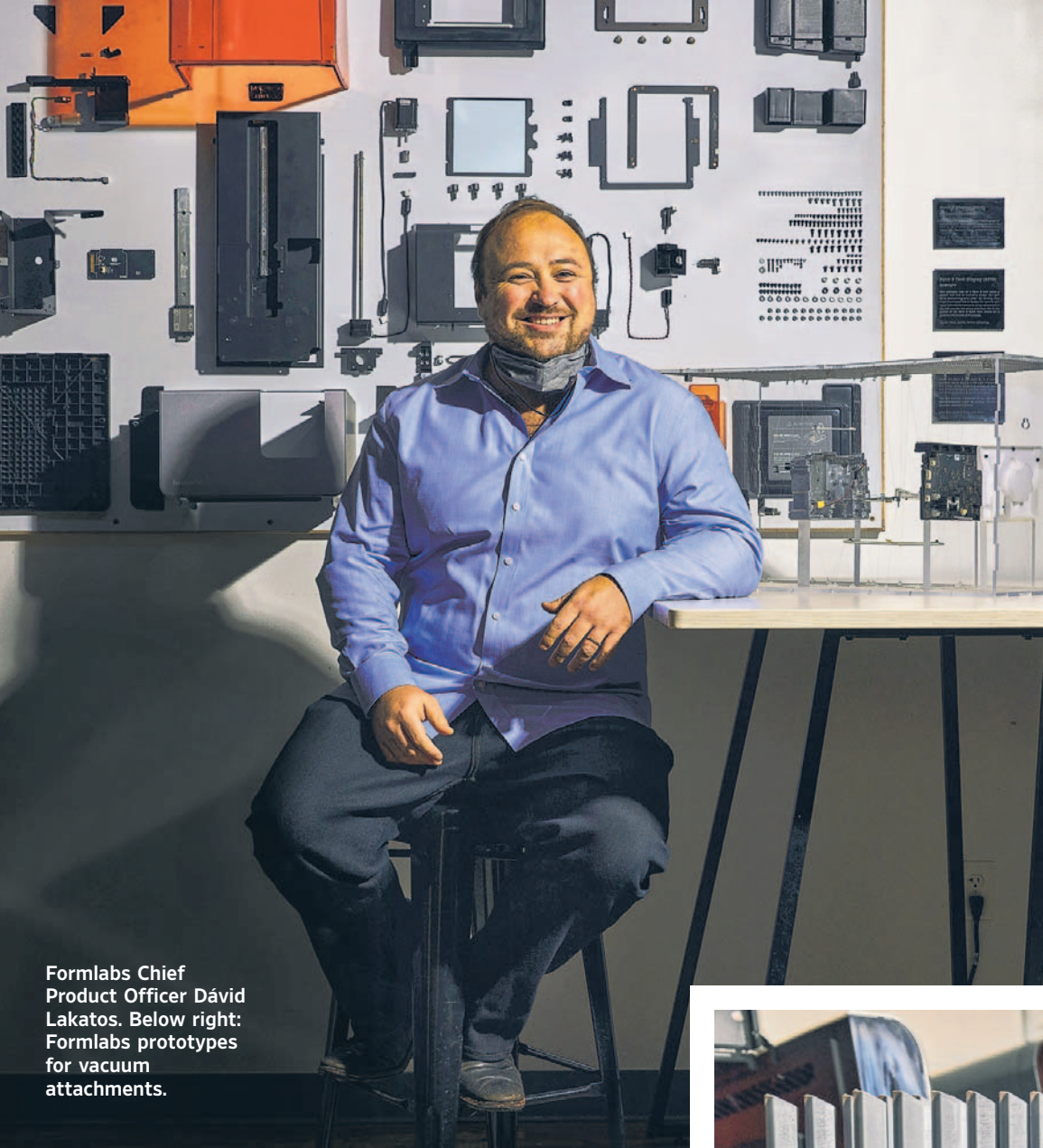
SOUTHWEST AIRLINES CO.

**LUV**
5.2% U.S. airlines remain in a holding pattern. Summer was a bust and losses are mounting as airlines anxiously watch a fragile uptick in demand to see if it will hold as coronavirus cases continue to climb. The pandemic eviscerated travel demand during what is typically the most lucrative season. On Thursday, Southwest said it lost nearly \$1.2 billion during the third quarter—its biggest loss ever, and American Airlines Group Inc. reported a loss of \$2.4 billion. Alaska Air Group Inc. on Thursday reported losing \$431 million. Southwest shares **rose 5.2% Thursday**.
—Derek Hall

ON BUSINESS | JOHN D. STOLL

Deglobalization? That's So 2019

From 3-D printers to tennis-ball guns, some manufacturers are in no hurry to say ‘Made in the U.S.A.’



 Somerville, Mass. The headquarters of 3-D-printer startup Formlabs Inc. is humming. “We have been nonstop since the beginning of March,” Chief Product Officer Dávid Lakatos says as he gives me a tour. Medical firms making ventilators and blue-chip companies equipping staffers stuck at home have been snapping up the nine-year-old company's compact printers. In one room, an employee uses a laptop perched on a cardboard-box desk as nearby colleagues test assorted gadgets. Shelves filled with 3-D-printed femurs, miniature spaceships and vacuum-cleaner attachments line the walls. None of the bustle among Formlabs' 400 employees in Somerville would be possible without China and Singapore and Japan and Germany and Hungary and North Carolina. CEOs, analysts and economists said the pandemic could hasten a process of deglobalization that was set in motion by several years of trade wars and growing nationalism. At the very least, it would reshape global trade as companies untangled deeply intertwined sup-

ply chains to lower risks of major disruptions. Predictions of globalization's demise seem premature, though. Trade has returned faster than expected, with the latest evidence coming this week when China reported strong export numbers. A midyear survey conducted by the American Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai and PricewaterhouseCoopers LLP indicated concerns among 172 participating companies about tariffs and other outsourcing issues actually declined in the previous 12 months. The ripples of Formlabs' dependence on its 9,400-mile supply chain reflect how deeply embedded globalization is in our commercial and personal lives. Formlabs charges \$3,500 to \$14,500 for its 3-D printers, most of which can fit on a desktop. But there are no printers to sell at that price without the Chinese suppliers it pays to provide the parts and the workers needed to assemble them. This affects Boston's own New Balance Athletic Inc., a brand that prides itself on attaching Made in the USA labels to its sneakers. New Balance couldn't produce its latest generation of custom cushioning in its Massachusetts lab



without Formlabs' “Form 2” machines, which came from a factory overseas. “Having affordable tools helps,” said David Dempsey, a manufacturing innovation engineer at New Balance. “We're a consumer-goods company. We're not making low-volume, high-value pieces.” Many small businesses that rely on 3-D printers, such as dental labs, saw revenue wither during pandemic lockdowns, but were able to pivot to manufacturing personal protective equipment and other vital gear. “Our core competency is making really small devices with extreme

accuracy,” said BJ Kowalski, president of ROE Dental Laboratory in Independence, Ohio, and a Formlabs customer. His printer lab kept people working this summer because he “took a gamble” on producing nasal swabs. “I said, ‘I want to get my people back to work,’” said Mr. Kowalski, half of whose 200 employees were able to return relatively quickly, working within social-distancing guidelines. Keeping Mr. Kowalski busy wouldn't have been possible if it weren't for Formlabs' R&D offices in places like Singapore, Berlin, Tokyo and Mr. Lakatos's native Budapest, as well as one near the company's factory in Shenzhen, China. Mr. Lakatos said business is a bit like the Bob Marley song “One Love,” riffing: “One world, one heart, one big supply chain.” Formlabs' 3-D printers have avoided the increased tariffs slapped on other durable goods and certain parts coming from China, he said. Other factors also play in China's favor. When I asked Mr. Lakatos why he can't just pull out of Shenzhen and move work more to the U.S., he said manufacturing in China offers access to a highly skilled, low-cost workforce and proximity to suppliers that provide parts for his company's printers. “Making our printers in Cleveland would be very difficult,” he said. Mike Ballardie, chief executive of a startup called Slinger Bag Ltd., also has a supply chain that links to Shenzhen. His product is a cheaper, consumer version of the tennis-ball launchers pros use. Encased in a roller bag and available for between \$550 and \$850, the machine has been popular during virus-induced isolation. Currently, there is a 60-day wait for new orders. “Our demand has gone haywire,” he said. The Windsor Mill, Md., company's decision to produce in Shenzhen is part of the reason for the backlog. Getting a container full of Slinger Bags from China to a South Carolina port isn't easy when there are a finite number of ships, and your product can't be flown due to lithium-ion batteries. But Mr. Ballardie said the trip from China is worth the hassle. U.S.-based suppliers of the right kind of luggage, to say nothing of lithium-ion batteries, are about as easy to find as a Slinger Bag these days. Making the product in the U.S. right now is “not our top priority,” Mr. Ballardie said. Formlabs' Mr. Lakatos echoed that sentiment, saying the company's mission is putting a printer in the hands of everyone who needs one, regardless of where the printers are made. “Everybody who designs something should be able to print it,” he said.

Huawei's Sales Feel U.S.'s Pinch

Continued from page B1 are touched in some way by American hardware or software. Huawei raced to stockpile chips ahead of the deadline. Last month, Huawei's deputy chairman, Guo Ping, said that “non-stop aggression” from the U.S. “has put us under significant pressure.” He said the company has an adequate hoard of chips to supply its business of building telecom equipment for carriers, but said it is looking for ways to plug a gap in its smartphone business. “Survival is the goal,” he said. To be sure, Huawei remains profitable despite the U.S. measures, with a net margin of 8% this year and more than \$50 billion in cash and short-term investments at the end of 2019. Its pace of revenue growth in the third quarter exceeded that of rival Ericsson AB, which on Wednesday reported 1% growth. Still, big challenges loom. A Commerce Department official said the U.S. is likely to grant chip-export licenses to companies whose products don't have an impact on national security, such as older routers of cellphones—a policy that could throw the future of Huawei's 5G business into doubt. Mr. Guo said Huawei would buy and use U.S. chipsets if licenses are granted. Some companies, such as Intel Corp., have said they have received licenses, while many others have said they have submitted applications. An Intel spokesman declined to say what its licenses cover. Huawei drew attention to its

The Chinese company remains profitable, with a net margin of 8% this year.

challenges on Thursday during the launch of its latest smartphone, the Mate 40. Richard Yu, the head of Huawei's consumer business, touted the gadget's camera capabilities and said the “Kirin” in-house brand microchip that powered the phone contained more transistors than the iPhone 12's comparable chip. Yet Mr. Yu has acknowledged that the device will likely be the last one powered by Huawei's own chips. Kirin chips are manufactured by Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Co., which is barred from supplying Huawei under Washington's rules, and no ready replacement supplier exists. Other signs of strain are evident. In the second quarter, Huawei edged out Samsung Electronics Co. to become the world's largest smartphone vendor—but the strength was driven by a buying spree among Chinese consumers; sales among overseas buyers sank. In the third quarter, Huawei's smartphone sales fell in China and overseas, said Mo Jia, analyst at market tracker Canalys. Consumer devices account for more than half of Huawei's revenue.

BUSINESS & FINANCE NEWS

Investors Acquire Wirecard’s U.S. Unit

By Patricia Kowsmann
and Ben Dummett

Wirecard AG’s bankruptcy administrator has sold the failed German fintech’s U.S. operations to a company backed by buyout specialist **Centerbridge Partners LP**, as it continues to dismantle the remains of the business and earn some cash for creditors. The administrator didn’t say how much Texas-based **Syncapay Inc.**, whose investors also include private-equity firms **Bain Capital Ventures** and **Silversmith Capital Partners**, paid for the unit. The U.S. arm has remained a largely autonomous, separate legal entity since Wirecard bought the business from Citigroup Inc. in 2016. It issues prepaid cards, which are often used as consumer vouchers or for refunds by companies. Wirecard investors have been betting this disposal and others being overseen by the administrator are unlikely to generate significant proceeds. The company has a total market value of about €74 million, equivalent to \$87.5 million. Wirecard initially paid about \$300 million for the U.S. operation, according to a person familiar with the matter. That said, the scandal has raised questions over the company’s accounting of its assets. Wirecard collapsed in June after auditors found a \$2 billion hole in its balance sheet. German prosecutors are investigating former Wirecard officials over accounting fraud and money laundering. Wirecard’s business, which involved the bread-and-butter processing of credit-card payments, puzzled some investors and journalists who questioned how it kept generating such quick revenue growth, particularly over the past few years. A big chunk of that revenue is now believed to have been faked. The administrator has estimated Wirecard’s assets at around \$500 million and liabilities at \$3.8 billion. Banks that provided the company with a \$2 billion revolving credit facility have been burned. Commerzbank AG, Germany’s second-largest lender and lead bank in the facility, recently took a \$200 million loss over its exposure. Wirecard’s bankruptcy administrator started the sale process of company units around the world in July. It has sold the U.K., Brazilian and Romanian businesses and it continues to seek buyers for other subsidiaries and the main European business, including its German-based bank. It is unlikely however the sales will provide enough cash to pay back all the creditors.

Facebook Fights Research Project

By Jeff Horwitz

Facebook Inc. is demanding that a New York University research project cease collecting data about its political-ad targeting practices, setting up a fight with academics seeking to study the platform without the company’s permission. The dispute involves the NYU Ad Observatory, a project launched last month by the university’s engineering school that has recruited more than 6,500 volunteers to use a specially designed browser extension to collect data about the political ads Facebook shows them. In a letter sent Oct. 16 to the researchers behind the NYU Ad Observatory, Facebook said the project violates provisions in its terms of service that prohibit bulk data collection from its site. “Scraping tools, no matter how well-intentioned, are not a permissible means of collecting information from us,” said the letter, written by a Facebook privacy policy official, Allison Hendrix. If the university doesn’t end the project and delete the data it has collected,

she wrote, “you may be subject to additional enforcement action.” The clash between the social-media giant and a major research university comes at a time of heightened scrutiny over political advertising on social media ahead of next month’s U.S. election. Facebook has said it would bar new political ads ahead of Election Day and suspend all political ads indefinitely that evening to prevent the spread of paid misinformation about the election outcome. Following a furor about the opaque nature of political advertising in the 2016 presidential campaign, Facebook launched an archive of advertisements that run on its platform, with information such as who paid for an ad, when it ran and the geographic location of people who saw it. But that library excludes information about the targeting that determines who sees the ads. The researchers behind the NYU Ad Observatory said they wanted to provide journalists, researchers, policy makers, and others with the ability to search political ads by state and con-



Tech giant says NYU’s research on political ads violates its terms of use.

test to see what messages are targeted to specific audiences and how those ads are funded. Facebook’s demand that the project stop its collection drew opposition from proponents of greater ad transparency, including Sen. Amy Klobuchar (D., Minn.), a sponsor of a bill called the Honest Ads Act that would mandate greater transparency in online political advertising. “It’s unacceptable that in the middle of an election, Facebook

is making it harder for Americans to get information about online political ads,” Ms. Klobuchar said in a statement. Social media platforms have pledged to make online advertising more transparent, she said, but Facebook’s threatened action against NYU “is further evidence that voluntary standards are insufficient.” Facebook said it already offers more transparency into political advertising than either

traditional media or rival social platforms, and that the automated collection of data from users’ on-platform activity—even with their permission—poses an unacceptable privacy threat. Facebook spokesman Joe Osborne said that if the project doesn’t shut down, Facebook could make technical changes to block the researchers from collecting data. For Facebook, allowing outsiders to access data on its platform has been tricky territory. Following the uproar over Cambridge Analytica, a company that obtained unauthorized access to Facebook user data for political profiling in 2016, the Federal Trade Commission pushed Facebook to rein in third-party data access. Facebook imposed a series of restrictions on outsiders’ ability to obtain, analyze and use data gathered from its platforms. Laura Edelson, a researcher at NYU’s Tandon School of Engineering who helps oversee the Ad Observatory project, said, “The only thing that would prompt us to stop doing this would be if Facebook would do it themselves, which we have called on them to do.”

McDonald’s Seeks Dismissal of Franchisees’ Suit

By Heather Haddon

McDonald’s Corp. asked a federal judge to dismiss a lawsuit accusing it of selling Black owners subpar stores and failing to support their businesses, saying that it wasn’t in the company’s interest to have its franchisees fail. In McDonald’s first response to the lawsuit filed in late August, it said the discrimination allegations by the former franchisees were vague and pointed to no specific facts nor promises broken. McDonald’s said in its court filing Friday that it provides extensive resources to its franchisees to succeed in their businesses, but it is up to owners to run their businesses well and that contracts drawn up with operators outline the risk in running one of its restaurants. “Success is promised to no one, and plaintiffs’ struggles—while regrettable—are simply not a basis for a claim against McDonald’s,” the company said in the filing. McDonald’s has had to defend its company record on race this year. After a legacy of supporting Black executives and franchisees, it faces two discrimination lawsuits. The company has denied the allegations in both suits. The fast-food chain says it has begun to assess diversity across its ranks, and that in recent months it held discussions with the National Black McDonald’s Operators Association about how to improve member cash flow. Black owners have said their sales are



The lawsuit accuses McDonald’s of steering Black franchisees to restaurants in undesirable locations in inner cities for years.

lower than those at the average U.S. McDonald’s. The lawsuit filed Aug. 31 in the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Illinois accused McDonald’s of steering Black franchisees to restaurants in undesirable locations in inner cities for years. It argued that those restaurants were destined to fail, and often had lower sales and higher operating costs. The suit alleged that the number of Black owners in the

U.S. has fallen because of what it described as the company’s racially discriminatory practices. It seeks damages for former owners of \$4 million to \$5 million per store for the more than 200 locations they once operated. In its response, McDonald’s said it was implausible that it had a “secret strategy” to undermine Black owners, as it profits off its franchisees’ gains. The company added that many franchisees left

their stores so long ago that their claims don’t fall within the statute of limitations. McDonald’s said in a statement Friday that it takes the claims in the suit seriously and will defend itself as it seeks to create equal opportunities for all of those who work with the company. McDonald’s legal defense includes former U.S. Attorney General Loretta Lynch, a Democrat who served during the Obama administration. “The

facts will show that discrimination did not inhibit the plaintiffs’ success as franchisees,” Ms. Lynch said in a statement. Attorneys for the Black ex-owners have said they are confident in the strength of their lawsuit, and that it draws on the experiences of 52 former franchisees from 18 states. They say that many of those owners lost their businesses in the past four years.

BUSINESS WATCH

MITSUBISHI CHEMICAL

Foreign Executive Appointed as CEO

Mitsubishi Chemical Holdings Corp has made the rare choice of a foreign executive as its CEO. Jean-Marc Gilson, 56 years old, currently head of a French food-ingredient maker called Roquette, would take over as chief executive on April 1. He will become one of the few non-Japanese executives atop a major Japanese company apart from Takeda Pharmaceutical Co.’s Christophe Weber, who is French. Mitsubishi Chemical is part of the Mitsubishi group, a loosely affiliated network of Japanese companies that share historical ties and sometimes cross-shareholding relationships. Mitsubishi Chemical’s products include plastics and materials used in electronics parts such as batteries. Most Mitsubishi group CEOs spend their entire careers at a single company. The current Mitsubishi Chemical CEO, Hitoshi Ochi, joined the company in 1977. Mr. Gilson said it was imperative to raise the company’s profitability by getting more international customers, saying more than half the company’s sales still come from its home market. He said he planned to shake up Mitsubishi Chemical’s portfolio and unload some as-



Lufax, which operates online lending and investment platforms, aims to sell 175 million American shares.

sets, but “you can only do that if there is good value to sell.” —Peter Landers

LUFAX

Chinese Firm to Raise \$2.4 Billion in U.S. IPO

Lufax Holding Ltd., a smaller rival to Chinese financial-technology giant **Ant Group** Co., is seeking to raise as much as \$2.4 billion from an initial public offering in the U.S. The deal is likely to put a substantially lower value on Lufax—which has reinvented itself

after China cracked down on peer-to-peer lending, once a key business line—than a private fundraising last year. Lufax, which operates online lending and investment platforms, aims to sell 175 million American depositary shares in a range of \$11.50 to \$13.50 each, according to a filing Thursday. That implies a market value of \$28.1 billion to \$32.9 billion, based on the postdeal share count in its listing prospectus. In early 2019 it was valued at \$39.4 billion after raising \$1.4 billion of new funds, according to filings by **Ping An Insurance**

(Group) Co., a major shareholder in the company. Banks underwriting the deal have the option to increase its size by 15%. Depending on where it prices, if the banks exercise that option this could be the biggest Chinese IPO in the U.S. since Alibaba Group Holding Ltd.’s \$25 billion debut in 2014. Dealogic data shows. The stock sale comes as Ant prepares to list in Hong Kong and Shanghai. The deal is likely to price on Oct. 29 and start trading a day later, this person said. Lufax’s stock ticker is LU. A spokeswoman for Shang-

hai-based Lufax said it couldn’t comment during a quiet period ahead of the listing. —Joanne Chiu

CAR SUPPLIERS

Auto Rebound Lifts Component Makers

Suppliers of car components reported surging sales this summer as the auto industry continues to recover from the slump triggered by Covid-19 lockdowns earlier this year. Makers of rearview mirrors, steel and air bags detailed increased business because of auto makers looking to make up for production lost during pandemic-related lockdowns. Adding to the tight inventory, buyers have been returning to showrooms faster than expected. “During the third quarter, volumes increased so quickly that it became very difficult for our operations teams to keep up,” said Steve Downing, president and chief executive of components maker Gentex Corp., whose products include rearview mirrors. Gentex posted higher third-quarter profit on \$474.6 million in sales, its second-highest quarterly figure ever, behind only the year-ago quarter. Car buyers’ relatively healthy financial position during the pandemic, as well as Covid-19 stimulus checks and auto companies’ zero-percent financing offers,

helped lift orders, said Charles Chesbrough, senior economist at Cox Automotive Inc. Steel-and-mining company Cleveland-Cliffs Inc.’s flat-rolled steel shipments rose 80% to 1.1 million tons for the third quarter, an increase driven by the auto market, said Lourenco Goncalves, the company’s chairman, president and chief executive. More than 70% of the company’s sales, which nearly tripled to \$1.65 billion, came from the auto market, he said Friday. Overall, sales at many car companies are still down compared with a year ago, but analysts said the selling pace in September was closer to what it was earlier this year—before the pandemic hit businesses. Mikael Bratt, chief executive of air bag maker Autoliv Inc., said, “The worst demand decline on record in the second quarter was followed by a faster-than-expected recovery in the third quarter, with its challenges of managing the supply chain in a safe and efficient way.” The Swedish company recorded higher profit and sales for the third quarter and expects the improvement to carry over to the current quarter. Sales in North America rose around 2% on an organic basis, thanks to recent launches by customers such as Tesla Inc., Volkswagen and Toyota Motor Corp., Mr. Bratt said. —Dave Sebastian

EXCHANGE



TAX REPORT | LAURA SAUNDERS

Pulling Back the Curtain on Tax Evaders

Two extreme cases show the lengths people will go to in hiding money offshore. Here’s how they do it.



U.S. tax officials have thrown a historic one-two punch at wealthy Americans hiding money offshore. On Oct. 15, they announced that Robert Smith, the 57-year-old private-equity billionaire who founded Vista Equity Partners, admitted he criminally evaded taxes on more than \$200 million of income from 2000 through 2015 by using secret foreign accounts in the Caribbean and Switzerland. Mr. Smith, who is famous for announcing at Morehouse College’s graduation that he would pay off student loans for the class of 2019, will pay more than \$139 million to the Internal Revenue Service in taxes and penalties. But he won’t be prosecuted. At the same time, the U.S. officials charged Robert Brockman, a Houston-based billionaire and software CEO who was the sole investor in Mr. Smith’s first private-equity fund, with hiding about \$2 billion of capital-gains income from the IRS in secret offshore accounts from 2000 through 2018. Mr. Brockman, 79 years old, pleaded

not guilty and was released on \$1 million bond. The two cases are landmark events in a U.S. crackdown on undeclared offshore accounts that has been under way since 2009. Mr. Brockman’s alleged evasion of tax on \$2 billion is the largest criminal tax prosecution ever brought, according to the Department of Justice, and Mr. Smith’s

Evaders use encrypted communications, code names and go-betweens to cover their tracks.

more than \$139 million payment is among the largest made in connection with secret offshore accounts. “These extraordinary cases show the reach of the IRS and Department of Justice in tracking hidden assets around the globe. High-net-worth individuals should get their houses in order before the IRS comes knocking,” says Caroline Ciraolo, a former top criminal tax attorney at the Department of Jus-

tice now with Kostelanetz & Fink. The public documents in the Smith and Brockman cases offer a new window into the shadowy world of wealthy American tax evaders. They reveal both the large amounts of money involved and the lengths some people will go to in order to hide them—even at a time when tax rates were comparatively low. Here’s a look at how it works, with a focus on Mr. Smith’s case because the facts aren’t in dispute. A spokesman for Mr. Smith and Vista Equity Partners declined to comment on his case. Mr. Brockman’s attorney did not respond to a request to comment.

Is there a difference between tax evasion and planning to minimize taxes? Yes, a big one. Tax avoidance can be legal, but tax evasion is the crime of willfully not paying taxes, and it must clearly be intentional. For example, Mr. Smith’s six-page confession uses the word “willfully” 25 times to describe his misdeeds.

How do offshore accounts enable tax evasion?

Secrecy is key. It often begins when an American puts assets into foreign trusts, companies, and other offshore accounts nominally owned by foreigners to make it look as though no tax is owed to the IRS. In reality, the assets are controlled by the American. These offshore structures are hard for the IRS to investigate if they’re in countries without treaties or agreements easing the exchange of tax information. Mr. Smith admitted that he controlled entities in Belize and the Caribbean island of Nevis that weren’t in his name. Those entities received pretax profits from his private-equity funds. He also controlled undeclared bank accounts in the British Virgin Islands and Switzerland, and he withdrew millions of untaxed dollars from them to buy and improve luxury real estate in Sonoma, Calif., and Switzerland. **How do tax evaders keep offshore accounts secret from the IRS?** They often employ go-betweens, and they frequently use encrypted communications and code names to cover their tracks. For example, Mr. Smith said he

paid an unnamed Houston lawyer who was a longtime adviser to Mr. Brockman more than \$800,000 from 2000 to 2014 to set up and maintain false paper trails to hide his accounts. **Is tax evasion using offshore accounts a new trend?** No. It has existed for decades, but a sustained U.S. crackdown began in 2009 after Swiss banking giant UBS AG admitted it encouraged Americans to evade taxes and even sent bankers into the U.S. to market evasion schemes. The crackdown, which had many facets, allowed the IRS to pierce the veil of bank secrecy in Switzerland and some other countries. As a result, more than 56,000 U.S. taxpayers at risk of criminal prosecution for undeclared offshore accounts entered an IRS limited-amnesty program and paid about \$11 billion to resolve their issues. Foreign banks paid more than \$6 billion.

How did the IRS detect Mr. Smith’s tax evasion? It’s unclear. But in late 2013 or early 2014, Mr. Smith’s Swiss bank told him it was poised to turn over information about his account to the IRS. Many Swiss banks did this to reduce their own penalties arising from the U.S. crackdown. Mr. Smith then applied to enter the IRS’s limited-amnesty program but was rejected in April 2014—meaning that he was likely in the agency’s sights already.

Mr. Smith is a noted philanthropist, even beyond his paying off the Morehouse graduates’ debt. Did his offshore accounts benefit charities? Mr. Smith’s trust had charitable recipients, but he wasn’t required to make donations. At the end of 2014, he contributed a substantial amount of offshore assets to the Fund II Foundation, his U.S.-approved charity. While under IRS investigation, Mr. Smith made waves as a donor. For 2016 and 2019 he was named one of the top 50 U.S. donors by the Chronicle of Philanthropy. Charitable endeavors, such as Mr. Smith’s creation of a guide to help other colleges and donors replicate his Morehouse program, can burnish a defendant’s image in the eyes of prosecutors and judges.

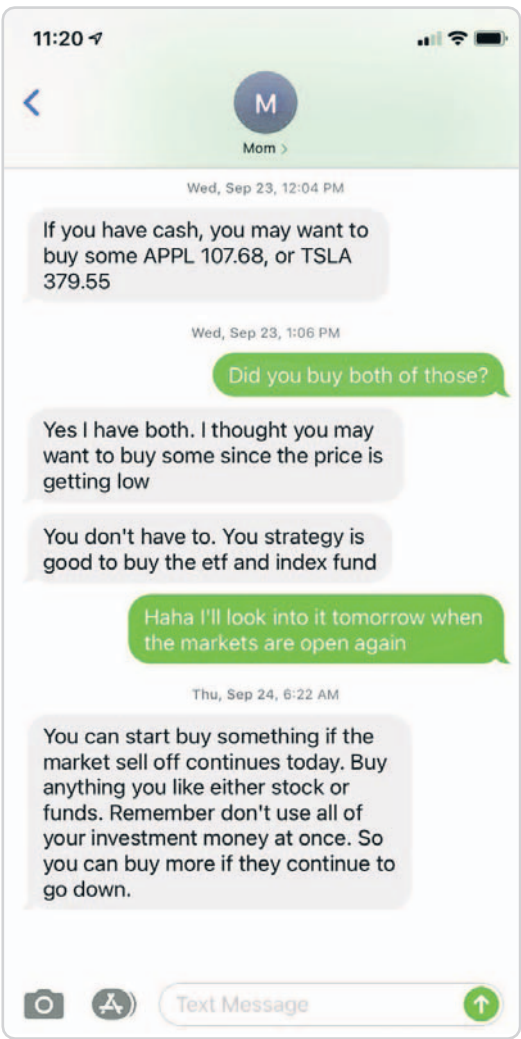
Why wasn’t Mr. Smith indicted, if he evaded taxes on \$200 million? David Anderson, the U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of California, which handled the case, said Mr. Smith’s agreement to cooperate with the government—presumably in Mr. Brockman’s case—“put him on a path away from indictment.” DOJ procedures don’t allow defendants to buy their way out of prosecutions, but cooperation can be grounds for leniency. Still, some tax specialists find Mr. Smith’s agreement unusual. Jack Townsend, a lawyer who publishes the Federal Tax Crimes blog, says: “He got a hell of a deal, considering what he did.”

Help! My Parents Are Day Traders

Continued from page B1 During my four years writing about financial markets for The Wall Street Journal, my parents and I almost never discussed stock trading—in fact, the newsroom has strict rules about journalists’ investing activities and I don’t dispense advice about markets. When I returned to Iowa to visit them in August, it was all they wanted to talk about. “What do you think of Tesla?” my dad asked one evening. My younger brother and I made eye contact over the dinner table, both startled and amused. “Dad, please don’t buy Tesla,” I said. “Why not?” he insisted. “You don’t know anything about the company,” I exclaimed. I wasn’t concerned about Tesla Inc. as a specific investment as much as I was about my dad buying shares in a company without having enough information about it. “It’s too high now,” my mom said. “Maybe when it comes down a bit more,” my dad agreed. Both of them ended up buying Tesla shares. My dad purchased Nikola Corp. too for good measure. Their sudden about-face shocked me. Born in a rural village a few hours outside of Beijing, my father came to the U.S. in 1985 for his graduate degree in engineering. My mom joined him shortly after, and worked side jobs such as waiting tables and filing taxes while raising three kids. I was in high school when my mom started showing me charts

and statistics emphasizing the value of saving. As I’ve gotten older, they’ve pushed me to save even more, urging me to sock away at least 10% of my paycheck in a 401(k) or snatch up employee discounts on company stock, and chiding me for spending too much on shoes and the like. Their frugality yielded enough savings to send my two brothers and me to college without student loans, and for my dad to retire in September, ahead of his 59th birthday. Which now gives him more time to trade stocks while my mom is on the clock. “The stock market is closed. So I’m off work too,” he joked when I called home one weeknight. Before this year, my parents had only dabbled in individual stocks. Mostly they built up their nest egg in retirement accounts and index funds. Now, with their children grown and financially independent, they suddenly felt that they could handle a bit more risk. Like others around the world, they have had all their travel plans negated by the pandemic, leaving them with more disposable income and very little to do. As trading has become more mobile and, more important, free, it became easier for them to jump in. After the S&P 500 plunged 20% in the first few months of the year, my mom saw something she couldn’t resist: a huge sale. Soon after, my dad started trading as well, with an eye toward riskier stocks and an aspiration to outpace my mom’s profits. Since then, they’ve been following the ups and downs of individual stocks with a single-minded fervor. Whereas they would once chat about errands or family matters, now they list the trading prices of their favorites, such as Zoom Video Communications Inc.

and Roku Inc., and debate whether to buy or sell. “I feel like I know it, because I’ve been really familiar with the price,” my mom said one day while talking about Zoom. She started trading it when shares cost about \$160 apiece; now they’re more than \$500. In between, she bought in and cashed out about five different times, netting several thousand dollars in total profits. Part of what concerns me is their sheer enthusiasm for trading, which seems to have eclipsed their typical caution. The parameters by which they choose to buy and sell can also feel somewhat arbitrary. To my mom, Zoom epitomizes a good company, a safe bet, partly because every time the stock has dropped it’s gone back up again. When shares of Luckin Coffee Inc. were sinking amid an accounting scandal and an imminent delisting from the Nasdaq, my dad considered buying shares as a “calculated risk”—a long but cheap shot that wouldn’t break the bank if those shares ended up worthless. They take my admonitions in good humor. “Yeah, it’s addictive,” my mom admitted with a laugh when I pestered her about the inherent risks of day trading. “It’s just kind of like gambling, so we really don’t use that much money.” My mom assured me that she’s started reading up on stock valuation, and only buys 20 or 30 shares at a time. She gauges that 15% to 20% of her wealth is in day trading, leaving the bulk of it in



Don’t forget your stocks, honey! Messages to the author’s brother from their mother, shown in gray.

her tried-and-true index and retirement funds. My dad, having gotten into the game later, has only about 10% of his money in short-term trades. In the unlikely case that he loses it all, which he doubts would happen, it wouldn’t be financially devastating.

Despite their reassurances, I can’t help but worry. As a markets reporter, I saw time and again that nothing is certain, and those who believe they can beat the market are often proved disastrously wrong. Other times, I wonder if I’m the one in the wrong, lecturing them to curb their trading when they’re raking in cash. Before I left to go back to New York City this summer, my mom offered to take down my Charles Schwab password and buy stocks for me. I pointed out that such an arrangement would still be off-limits for me. They also like to keep an eye on stocks like airlines or retail companies that have suffered during the pandemic. “That’s called ‘buying the dip,’” my mom informed me, though she admitted doing so isn’t as much fun as riding hot tech stocks that seem to surge every other day. That’s not to say they have no doubts about the resilience of the market. One afternoon my mom and I found an envelope in the mail with the Nielsen consumer confidence survey and two dollar bills enclosed. The cash was enough incentive for my mom to start filling it out, ticking a box that indicated the business environment in our Iowa town was as good as it was before the pandemic. “Really?” I asked. “You think so?” Her rationale was simple—more optimistic answers would help bolster the market. “I want stocks to go up,” she responded.

WEEKEND INVESTOR

THE INTELLIGENT INVESTOR | JASON ZWEIG

The Man Who Returned \$10 Billion

A value investor with a once-great record is calling it quits. What does that mean for bargain hunting?



You can complain about the death of value investing, or you can do something about it.

The discipline of buying cheap stocks, and holding them until they deliver superior returns, has lagged behind the market for so long that most of its practitioners seem to do little but talk about how bad it is and speculate about when it will get better.

Then there's Ted Aronson. He is giving back \$10 billion to his investors and shutting down his Philadelphia-based value-investing firm, AJO. That is after more than 30 years in which AJO's returns were often among the best in the business of managing money for pension funds, university endowments and other institutions. They aren't among the best anymore.

"Our recent performance sucks," says Mr. Aronson. "And our record over most of the last five years has been so sucky that even if we outperformed mightily over the next five, we would still have—at best—a drab return looking back over those 10 years."

He concedes that he may be getting out of the business with "the exact wrong timing" and that the exit of a firm like his might well signal that value investing's long-awaited comeback is imminent. Even so, given AJO's recent results, Mr. Aronson says he had no choice but to give clients their money back.

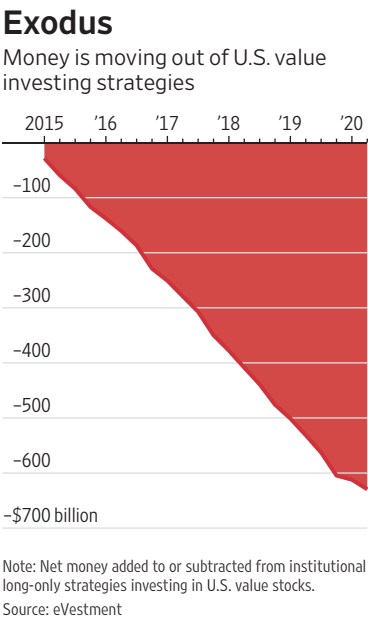
How unusual is that? Asset managers return their investors' capital about as often as sharks regurgitate swimmers without a scratch.

Hedge funds sometimes hand money back to their investors. In early 2000, the last time value stocks performed this poorly, Julian Robertson of Tiger Management LLC shut his main fund and returned several billion dollars to outside clients. In 1969, after speculative stocks soared, Warren Buffett shuttered his partnership, returned his investors' capital and



RYAN STRAND GREENBERG FOR THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

'Our recent performance sucks,' says Ted Aronson, who is closing his Philadelphia-based firm, AJO.



told them, "I don't want to spoil a decent record by trying to play a game I don't understand."

Value investors are running out of patience. Institutional clients have pulled \$76 billion more out of U.S. value portfolios than out of growth portfolios since 2015, estimates eVestment, a research firm.

For many decades, value stocks tended to earn higher average returns than the shares of growth companies. Since the late 2000s, however, growth stocks have been beating value to a pulp.

Low interest rates make investors less averse to holding assets that might not pay off for years to come. Just think of Tesla Inc.'s shares racing even as the company lost nearly \$5.4 billion between 2015 and 2019. Only this week did it finally report a profit for the fifth quarter in a row.

And in this year of pandemic, growth industries like technology and health care still boomed, while such value sectors as real estate and financials have been clobbered.

So far in 2020, large U.S. growth stocks have beaten big value stocks by 36 percentage points, as measured by FTSE Russell indexes. That shatters all records: The widest such margin in a previous full year was 26 points in 1999, according to BofA Securities.

Value investors have suffered the anguish of missing out. Across all U.S. companies from large to small, \$10,000 invested in growth stocks 10 years ago would have surpassed \$47,000 this week. The same amount in value would be worth \$25,400, according to FTSE Russell.

Mr. Aronson is a "quant," or quantitative investor, who doesn't analyze such fundamentals as the

quality of a company's products, the skill of its executives, the loyalty of its customers or the strength of its competitors. Instead, he and his team look only at the numbers: more than a dozen measures of net income and asset values, profitability, earnings estimates, trading activity and other factors that decades of research has shown can identify cheap stocks.

As recently as 2015, according to AJO, every one of its 15 strategies was outperforming its benchmark since inception—often by at least two percentage points annually for decades.

In 2016, growth stocks started to pull away, and AJO's results

So far in 2020, large U.S. growth stocks have beaten big value stocks by 36 percentage points,

never caught up. "Holy shit, it was painful," says Mr. Aronson. "It was all downhill from there—or should I say uphill." By this September, only six of AJO's remaining 13 strategies were beating their benchmarks since inception—and all but two were far behind over the past five years.

"You get to think that all these machines, all this technology, all the data, are the keys to the kingdom," says Mr. Aronson. "Not!"

He pauses, then says in a rush, "It can all work for years, for decades, until or except when the not-so-invisible hand comes down and slaps you and says, 'That's what worked in the past, but it's not going to work now, nope, not anymore.'"

Although he is shutting down, Mr. Aronson is convinced value investing isn't dead. When will it come back to life? "All records have been broken, so past experience is meaningless," he says—"except in knowing the drought will end." He bears down hard on the word "except."

Mr. Aronson adds, "There's a lifetime left of finding real companies that continue to produce real stuff. They will retain earnings. They will pay dividends. They will make money."

After so long a run of growth-stock outperformance, "the sheer stretching of the rubber band is bound to make value companies worth buying," he says. "It has to."

You know
the feeling
when you actually
wake up early to
work out?

Rolling over your old 401k can bring you that same sense of satisfaction—without the alarm clock. Our team of rollover specialists will walk you through the process step by step, and even call your old provider. We do the heavy lifting so you can focus on feeling accomplished.

Visit tdameritrade.com/rollover to get started today.

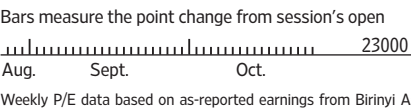
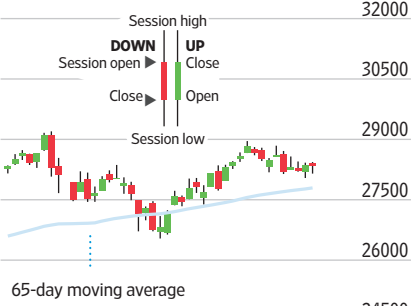


A rollover is not your only alternative when dealing with old retirement plans. Please visit tdameritrade.com/rollover for more information on rollover alternatives.
TD Ameritrade, Inc., member FINRA/SIPC. © 2020 TD Ameritrade.

MARKETS DIGEST

Dow Jones Industrial Average

28335.57	Last	Year ago
▼ 28.09	Trailing P/E ratio	26.91 19.75
or 0.10%	P/E estimate *	24.01 17.99
All-time high	Dividend yield	2.15 2.29
29551.42, 02/12/20	Current divisor	0.15198707565833



Major U.S. Stock-Market Indexes

	High	Low	Latest Close	Net chg	% chg	High	52-Week Low	% chg	YTD	% chg 3-yr. ann.
Dow Jones										
Industrial Average	28436.52	28149.82	28335.57	-28.09	-0.10	29551.42	18591.93	5.1	-0.7	6.8
Transportation Avg	11891.21	11750.29	11880.13	131.58	1.12	11988.83	6703.63	9.4	9.0	6.1
Utility Average	896.51	889.30	893.68	2.40	0.27	960.89	610.89	3.1	1.7	6.0
Total Stock Market	35589.74	35312.73	35587.90	137.22	0.39	36434.12	22462.76	15.1	7.7	10.2
Barron's 400	762.18	755.01	761.75	5.02	0.66	767.01	455.11	10.5	4.0	3.5
Nasdaq Stock Market										
Nasdaq Composite	11548.85	11434.86	11548.28	42.28	0.37	12056.44	6860.67	40.1	28.7	20.6
Nasdaq 100	11693.01	11569.09	11692.57	29.66	0.25	12420.54	6994.29	45.6	33.9	24.4
S&P										
500 Index	3466.46	3440.45	3465.39	11.90	0.34	3580.84	2237.40	14.7	7.3	10.5
MidCap 400	2021.24	1997.22	2015.65	12.72	0.64	2106.12	1218.55	2.9	-2.3	3.4
SmallCap 600	935.76	925.75	933.72	4.80	0.52	1041.03	595.67	-3.6	-8.6	0.9
Other Indexes										
Russell 2000	1641.48	1626.32	1640.50	10.25	0.63	1705.22	991.16	5.2	-1.7	3.1
NYSE Composite	13215.59	13117.82	13199.86	53.94	0.41	14183.20	8777.38	0.4	-5.1	2.1
Value Line	492.80	488.53	492.25	2.52	0.51	562.05	305.71	-6.4	-10.9	-3.2
NYSE Arca Biotech	5410.21	5335.04	5375.13	-3.18	-0.06	6142.96	3855.67	22.4	6.1	8.5
NYSE Arca Pharma	653.73	645.33	648.30	1.37	0.21	675.64	494.36	9.4	-0.8	5.1
KBW Bank	81.79	79.98	80.97	0.61	0.76	114.12	56.19	-22.7	-28.6	-7.0
PHLX ^S Gold/Silver	146.25	144.39	145.46	-0.95	-0.65	161.14	70.12	55.5	36.0	20.0
PHLX ^S Oil Service	30.01	29.14	29.53	-0.04	-0.15	80.99	21.47	-56.1	-62.3	-38.9
PHLX ^S Semiconductor	2361.22	2338.25	2360.23	-10.22	-0.43	2433.48	1286.84	43.2	27.6	24.0
Cboe Volatility	28.67	27.26	27.55	-0.56	-1.99	82.69	11.54	117.8	99.9	35.5

^SNasdaq PHLX Sources: FactSet; Dow Jones Market Data

International Stock Indexes

Region/Country	Index	Close	Net chg	Latest % chg	YTD % chg
World					
	The Global Dow	3071.74	18.93	0.62	-5.5
	DJ Global Index	444.63	1.84	0.42	2.4
	DJ Global ex U.S.	253.41	1.19	0.47	-3.9
Americas					
	DJ Americas	809.11	2.77	0.34	6.3
Brazil	Sao Paulo Bovespa	101259.75	-657.98	-0.65	-12.4
Canada	S&P/TSX Comp	16304.08	24.72	0.15	-4.5
Mexico	S&P/BMV IPC	38707.72	55.53	0.14	-11.1
Chile	Santiago IPSA	2623.81	-2.30	-0.09	-21.3
EMEA					
	Stoxx Europe 600	362.50	2.23	0.62	-12.8
Eurozone	Euro Stoxx	357.23	2.79	0.79	-11.6
Belgium	Bel-20	3246.45	44.26	1.38	-17.9
Denmark	OMX Copenhagen 20	1378.47	2.94	0.21	21.4
France	CAC 40	4909.64	58.26	1.20	-17.9
Germany	DAX	12645.75	102.69	0.82	-4.6
Israel	Tel Aviv	1354.21	...	Closed	-19.5
Italy	FTSE MIB	19285.41	208.46	1.09	-18.0
Netherlands	AEX	554.34	0.14	0.03	-8.3
Russia	RTS Index	1164.06	8.82	0.76	-24.8
South Africa	FTSE/JSE All-Share	55339.58	543.16	0.99	-3.1
Spain	IBEX 35	6893.43	96.83	1.42	-27.8
Sweden	OMX Stockholm	724.77	0.63	0.09	6.5
Switzerland	Swiss Market	10023.90	24.85	0.25	-5.6
Turkey	BIST 100	1190.63	-7.69	-0.64	4.1
U.K.	FTSE 100	5860.28	74.63	1.29	-22.3
U.K.	FTSE 250	18109.57	215.15	1.20	-17.2
Asia-Pacific					
Australia	S&P/ASX 200	6167.00	-6.75	-0.11	-7.7
China	Shanghai Composite	3278.00	-34.50	-1.04	7.5
Hong Kong	Hang Seng	24918.78	132.65	0.54	-11.6
India	S&P BSE Sensex	40685.50	127.01	0.31	-1.4
Japan	Nikkei Stock Avg	23516.59	42.32	0.18	-0.6
Singapore	Straits Times	2537.39	8.97	0.35	-21.3
South Korea	Kospi	2360.81	5.76	0.24	7.4
Taiwan	TAIEX	12898.82	-18.21	-0.14	7.5
Thailand	SET	1213.61	...	Closed	-23.2

Sources: FactSet; Dow Jones Market Data

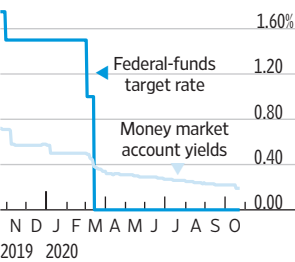
Get real-time U.S. stock quotes and track most-active stocks, new highs/lows and mutual funds.

Available free at [WSJMarkets.com](#)

Consumer Rates and Returns to Investor

U.S. consumer rates

A consumer rate against its benchmark over the past year

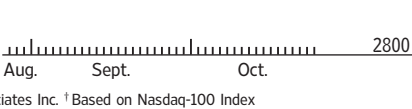
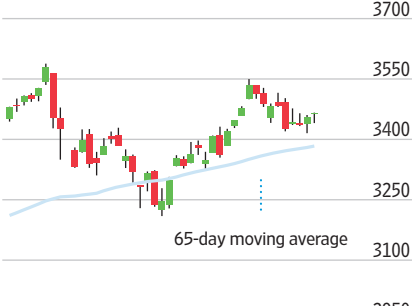


Interest rate	Yield/Rate (%) Last	Week ago	52-Week Range (%) Low 0 High 8	3-yr chg (pct pts)
Federal-funds rate target	0.00-0.25	0.00-0.25	0.00	1.75
Prime rate*	3.25	3.25	3.25	5.00
Libor, 3-month	0.22	0.22	0.21	1.96
Money market, annual yield	0.19	0.22	0.19	0.72
Five-year CD, annual yield	0.61	0.62	0.61	1.53
30-year mortgage, fixed*	3.03	3.02	2.93	4.22
15-year mortgage, fixed*	2.56	2.52	2.48	3.57
Jumbo mortgages, \$510,400-plus*	3.08	3.06	2.93	4.42
Five-year adj mortgage (ARM)*	3.22	3.23	2.85	4.61
New-car loan, 48-month	4.13	4.14	4.13	4.56

Bankrate.com rates based on survey of over 4,800 online banks. *Base rate posted by 70% of the nation's largest banks. † Excludes closing costs. Sources: FactSet; Dow Jones Market Data; Bankrate.com

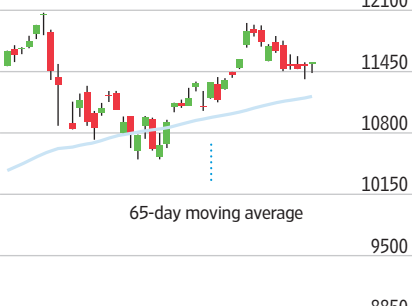
S&P 500 Index

3465.39	Last	Year ago
▲ 11.90	Trailing P/E ratio *	38.25 23.68
or 0.34%	P/E estimate *	25.55 18.25
All-time high	Dividend yield *	1.73 1.91
3580.84, 09/02/20		



Nasdaq Composite Index

11548.28	Last	Year ago
▲ 42.28	Trailing P/E ratio **	37.62 24.75
or 0.37%	P/E estimate **	31.31 21.87
All-time high:	Dividend yield **	0.74 1.01
12056.44, 09/02/20		



Trading Diary

Volume, Advancers, Decliners

	NYSE	NYSE Amer.
Total volume*	721,652,985	11,416,074
Adv. volume*	431,790,457	5,653,533
Decl. volume*	275,732,222	5,619,040
Issues traded	3,128	265
Advances	1,906	128
Declines	1,111	127
Unchanged	111	10
New highs	70	2
New lows	21	1
Closing Arms¹	1.09	0.59
Block trades*	4,657	118

	Nasdaq	NYSE Arca
Total volume*	3,138,963,686	157,635,799
Adv. volume*	1,772,785,800	110,245,849
Decl. volume*	1,320,393,938	46,685,637
Issues traded	3,576	1,403
Advances	2,141	1,064
Declines	1,316	316
Unchanged	119	23
New highs	74	16
New lows	29	14
Closing Arms¹	1.21	1.50
Block trades*	13,223	928

*Primary market NYSE, NYSE American NYSE Arca only. (¹TRIN) A comparison of the number of advancing and declining issues with the volume of shares rising and falling. An Arms of less than 1 indicates buying demand; above 1 indicates selling pressure.

Percentage Gainers...

Company	Symbol	Close	Net chg	% chg	High	Low	% chg
Marin Software	MRIN	3.45	1.33	62.74	5.70	0.77	53.3
KBL Merger IV	KBLM	11.04	2.94	36.30	11.50	8.01	5.1
Strattec Security	STRT	28.76	5.51	23.68	30.00	11.74	36.7
Leju Holdings ADR	LEJU	2.85	0.52	22.32	6.96	1.03	67.6
TSR	TSRI	6.91	1.13	19.55	8.88	2.64	95.9
Boston Beer CIA	SAM	1091.10	173.02	18.85	1092.80	290.02	190.5
VOXX International	VOXX	13.87	2.15	18.34	14.14	1.82	168.8
Innate Pharma ADR	IPHA	4.67	0.71	17.93	8.24	3.30	-17.5
Kodiak Sciences	KOD	96.63	11.82	13.94	96.83	18.52	351.1
XOMA	XOMA	22.56	2.70	13.60	28.85	14.14	19.9
Medigus ADR	MDGS	2.71	0.32	13.39	5.15	0.83	40.4
Foghorn Therapeutics	FHTX	18.12	2.12	13.25	20.30	16.00	...
Funko CIA	FNKO	6.76	0.79	13.23	18.27	3.12	-61.6
Natuzzi ADR	NTZ	6.87	0.80	13.18	7.87	0.37	304.1
COMPASS Pathways ADR	CMPS	38.39	4.19	12.25	47.29	22.51	...

Percentage Losers

Company	Symbol	Close	Net chg	% chg	High	Low	% chg
BiondVax Pharma ADR	BVXV	5.20	-32.68	-86.27	62.00	3.60	-3.9
Limelight Networks	LLNW	4.20	-1.98	-31.98	8.19	3.51	-3.9
CyberOptics	CYBE	26.25	-10.85	-29.25	43.48	12.77	55.4
TuanChe ADR	TC	4.48	-1.55	-25.70	10.95	2.70	-56.9
U.S. Xpress Ent's CIA	USX	7.08	-2.25	-24.12	11.34	2.65	29.4
Weidai ADR	WEI	1.90	-0.54	-22.13	6.50	0.73	-70.4
Puhui Wealth Invt Mgmt	PHCF	3.47	-0.79	-18.54	8.55	1.80	31.5
KBS Fashion Group	KBSF	3.26	-0.65	-16.62	4.45	0.95	50.9
Sigma Labs	SGLB	2.44	-0.46	-15.86	11.70	1.95	-52.6
Milestone Pharmaceuticals	MIST	6.00	-1.00	-14.29	23.25	1.69	-70.7
Aemetis	AMTX	4.02	-0.67	-14.29	5.10	0.37	308.0
Hexindai ADR	HX	2.30	-0.38	-14.18	7.44	0.76	-28.3
Indonesia Energy	INDO	4.65	-0.75	-13.89	12.49	1.55	...
Dragon Victory Intl	LYL	2.94	-0.46	-13.53	4.92	0.85	105.6
Neovasc	NVCN	2.03	-0.31	-13.25	8.65	1.24	-47.3

Most Active Stocks

Company	Symbol	Volume (000)	% chg from 65-day avg	Latest Session Close	% chg	52-Week High	Low
Snap	SNAP	204,416	669.1	43.17	10.78	43.19	7.89
Socket Mobile	SKCT	170,674	8860.7	2.55	74.66	4.50	0.76
General Electric	GE	132,251	35.4	7.63	-1.17	13.26	5.48
Intel	INTC	97,078	174.5	48.20	-10.58	69.29	43.63
American Airlines Group	AAL	90,353	43.6	12.60	-4.18	31.67	8.25

Common stocks priced at \$2 a share or more with an average volume over 65 trading days of at least 5,000 shares †Has traded fewer than 65 days

BUSINESS & FINANCE

Central Banks Snap Up EU Bonds

By Anna Hirtenstein

Central banks were among the biggest buyers of European common debt this week, signaling growing trust that the euro will hold its own through the pandemic.

The European Commission—the European Union’s executive arm—on Tuesday issued its first wave of common debt to finance its coronavirus-relief programs. It raised €17 billion, equivalent to \$20 billion, from the sale of 10-year and 20-year bonds.

Close to 40% of the benchmark 10-year bond was bought by central banks’ reserve managers, which is about double the average for prior European bonds, according to research from Deutsche Bank. They also bought 13% of the 20-year bond.

“Demand signals a vote of confidence on the euro as a reserve asset,” said George Saravelos, global head of FX research at Deutsche Bank.

This year has been a turning point for the EU’s financial cohesion. The region is perceived to have overcome some historical divides that had held back collective action, particularly after the approval of an economic recovery fund that will include both grants and loans for the countries hardest-hit by the pandemic. The bloc is financing its coronavirus-relief programs with common debt such as Tuesday’s issuance, spreading the cost of the pandemic across its member states.

That action has been a key contributor to the recent rise of the euro, according to Vasilios Gkionakis, head of foreign-exchange strategy at Lombard Odier. The common currency has gained 1.1% against the dollar this month and 5.7% over the year. Mr. Gkionakis expects the currency to strengthen further.

“Investors are getting positive signals coming out of Europe, including this step toward mutual debt issuance,” he said. “That restoration of faith and confidence is likely to attract more demand from reserve managers.”

The pricing of the bonds is also likely to lure investors, said James Athey, an investment manager at Aberdeen Standard Investments.

“Compared to France, it’s more highly rated but also has a higher yield. That’s the Holy Grail,” Mr. Athey said. The higher yield is because the market is new and relatively small, making it harder to buy and sell the bonds, but that is unlikely to be a concern for reserve managers because they tend to hold assets for a long time, he said.

The European Commission is set to issue up to €833 billion more in common bonds to finance its coronavirus-relief programs in the coming years. This wave of issuance is likely to increase investor access to European government debt and push up the flows of capital into the region, further boosting the euro, according to Kit Juckes, a macro strategist at Société Générale.

This would mark a turnaround for the European government bond market. The European Central Bank has bought so many assets as part of its monetary stimulus that there has been a short supply for years. This has damped the ability of foreign investors to buy euro-denominated assets.

Barclays Posts Profit but Sees Stress

By Simon Clark

LONDON—Barclays PLC Chief Executive Jes Staley sounded a cautiously optimistic note about the U.K. bank’s prospects of rebounding from the coronavirus pandemic after it posted a profit in the third quarter.

The London-based bank earned £611 million, equivalent to \$799 million, in the three months to Sept. 30 after losing £292 million in the year-earlier period, when it took a one-off charge.

“The bank, six months into this historic time, is strong and resilient and profitable,” Mr. Staley said. “We have a good chance to come out of this crisis in a stronger position in fact than we went in.”

Barclays’s shares rose more than 7% in London, making the bank the biggest gainer in the Stoxx Europe 600 Banks index on Friday. The shares have fallen 37% this year.

British banks have been hit hard by the economic impact of the pandemic after the nation reported the highest number of deaths from the disease in Europe. Moody’s Investors Service this week downgraded the long-term counterparty risk rating of Barclays’s U.K. unit, following a cut to the nation’s sovereign-debt rating. Bank of England officials have asked lenders to assess the impact of negative interest rates, a policy bankers are wary of.

“Zero, let alone negative, interest rates are very tough for banks; I think that’s well known, and put pressure on bank profitability,” Mr. Staley said. “What we hope we have is a resolution to the pandemic, economic growth return and start getting interest rates back up again. That would be good.”

Barclays set aside £608 mil-



TOUGA AKMEV/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE/GETTY IMAGE

Barclays’s shares rose more than 7% in London Friday but are down 37% so far this year.

AmEx Reports Drop in Earnings

American Express Co. said consumer retail spending improved in the third quarter, but spending on travel and entertainment remained substantially lower.

Non-travel and non-entertainment spending—which made up about 70% of spending going into the pandemic—increased about 1% in the third quarter from a year earlier, Chief Financial Officer Jeffrey Campbell said Friday. He said that climb was partly because of sizable online transactions growth.

“We really look at the fact that non [travel and entertainment] spending is up year over year as illustrative of the way

consumers and small businesses have just learned to adapt to the new world,” he said.

While non-travel and non-entertainment spending showed some growth in the quarter, it hasn’t totally normalized.

“What you would expect on the non-travel stuff is to see growth on an annual basis about 7 or 8%,” Mr. Campbell said. “It’s not resuming the levels of growth it was at.”

Travel and entertainment spending fell 69% from a year earlier.

“Clearly travel and entertainment spending is going to take longer to come back,” he said. “That’s still down much more significantly and is going to take some more significant change in the medical situation to get people completely comfortable.”

The credit-card company said revenue net of interest expense was \$8.8 billion. Analysts had been expecting \$8.66 billion. Revenue net of interest expense fell 20% from a year earlier, American Express said, attributing the drop to less card-member spending and a decline in the average discount rate.

Earnings for the quarter decreased to \$1.1 billion, or \$1.30 a share, the company reported Friday. That was lower than the comparable quarter a year earlier when profit was \$1.8 billion, or \$2.08 a share. According to FactSet, analysts had been expecting \$1.34 a share.

American Express’s provision for credit losses was \$665 million, the company said. That declined from a year earlier when it was \$879 million.

—Allison Prang

lion in provisions for losses from loans during the quarter, representing a big reduction from the £3.74 billion in provisions in the first half.

“Headwinds in Barclays U.K.

are expected to persist into 2021 including the low interest rate environment,” Mr. Staley said.

Banks across Europe are struggling to come to terms

with the pandemic, which struck after years of poor performance for the sector. Many lenders are cutting business lines and considering mergers to survive.

Chinese Imports Lift Bulk-Shipping Outlook

By Costas Paris

China is stocking up on grains, metals and other commodities, providing a boost to industrial bulk shipping companies as Beijing braces for a potential new wave of supply-chain disruptions from rising Covid-19 infections among the country’s Western trading partners.

China is the world’s biggest commodity importer, making up roughly 40% of the dry-bulk shipping market, and its rebounding economy has been driving a surge in prices for industrial commodities, including copper, aluminum and cotton.

With China’s overall imports up 13.2% in September from the same month last year, shipping executives expect an increase in freight rates over the next year.

The growth comes despite the tariff dispute with the U.S. and growing tensions with Australia, one of China’s biggest commodity trade partners.

“China will push on with its stimulus efforts into next year and this will support dry-bulk rates,” said Peter Sand, chief shipping analyst at industry trade body BIMCO. “If the world doesn’t shut down again, there will be a global net restocking, which means more shipments.”

The spot rate for capesize ships, the biggest dry bulk vessels, has fallen to around \$18,000 from \$35,000 in mid-October, when a dozen cargoes of Australian coal destined for China were canceled, according to shipowners and brokers.

The Baltic Dry Index, which tracks the cost of moving commodities, reached 1,415 on Fri-



YANG SHYAO/XINHUA/ZUMA PRESS

The spot rate for capesize ships fell by around \$17,000 when a dozen cargoes of Australian coal destined for China were canceled.

day, up slightly from earlier in the week but down from 2,186 on Oct. 6. Beijing is angry with Canberra over the latter’s push for an independent probe into the origins of the pandemic and a decision to ban telecommunications giant Huawei Technologies Co. from Australia’s 5G network.

Shipping executives and brokers expect overall demand for dry-bulk ships to grow by 3% on average over the next five years, from flat demand in 2020 compared with 2019, according to a Wall Street Journal survey of 13 dry-bulk operators.

“We believe Brazilian iron ore production and Chinese iron ore consumption remain key drivers of the segment,” Jefferies Financial Group Inc. said in a report this month.

Oslo-based analysts at Jefferies expect gains in annual freight for dry-bulk carriers over the next three years as demand for transport outpaces available capacity and the order book for new ships remains very thin.

Brazil’s Vale SA produced 207 million metric tons of iron ore in the year through August, most of which it exported to

Asia, said Pradeep Rajan, senior managing editor for Asia-Pacific shipping and freight at S&P Global Platts. The miner is expected to produce around an additional 105 million tons in the final stretch of the year, which is one reason why Mr. Rajan expects capesize rates to remain elevated.

U.S. soybean cargoes are feeding more optimism. American farmers exported 8.24 million metric tons of soybeans to China from the beginning of September to mid-October, from just over one million metric tons in the year-earlier pe-

riod, according to BIMCO analysis of U.S. Agriculture Department data. Corn cargoes are also rising, with China’s commitments for U.S. corn purchases for delivery from September this year to August 2021 growing to around 10 million metric tons so far this year, up from only 59,000 metric tons at this time last year.

The test for dry-bulk carriers will come in the first quarter, when demand for commodities typically tails off around 10% from the fourth quarter.

—Joe Wallace
contributed to this article.

Yale Presses Firms on Diversity

Continued from page B1

which we live. Genuine diversity remains elusive, giving investors like Yale and your firm an opportunity to drive change,” Mr. Swensen wrote in a letter to money managers this month. Yale plans to ask its managers for relevant data on diversity annually, the letter said.

Mr. Swensen said firms would be measured annually on hiring, training, mentoring and

retaining women and minorities on their investment staffs. Though Yale isn’t mandating specific targets, Mr. Swensen said the university could pull its money from firms that show little progress over time. Small firms that rarely make new hires will likely have more time to show progress, he said.

In a recent Zoom interview, Mr. Swensen, age 66, said he and others at Yale’s endowment had long discussed diversity with managers they were invested in. He said he had held off on systematic efforts to encourage more diversity at those firms in part because of a belief it resulted from an insufficient pipeline of diverse candidates.

But the Black Lives Matter movement has had a galvaniz-

ing effect on him and the team, Mr. Swensen said, prompting discussions about how to address the lack of diversity in the investing world. He immersed himself in newspapers’ coverage of the protests and said he was reminded of the activism of the 1960s, when he was a high-school student reading about the civil-rights and Vietnam War protests from his hometown of River Falls, Wis. He said he was astonished and heartened by the movement’s impact. “I’m not going to make a contribution by marching anywhere,” said Mr. Swensen, who was diagnosed with late-stage renal-cell cancer in 2012, seated on a couch in his Killingworth, Conn., home. “So I figured, what can we do?”

Mr. Swensen said his thoughts on the benefits of diversity in investment management reflect the benefits he has seen at Yale itself.

Yale’s polyglot student body has enriched the university community and made Yale a more meritocratic place than decades ago, before women were admitted and when a quota on Jews existed, he said. He similarly hopes investment firms staffed by people with the broadest set of backgrounds will outperform those that are overwhelmingly white and male. Mr. Swensen suggested in the letter, sent to the 70 U.S. managers Yale is invested with, that they consider recruiting directly from college campuses rather than traditional recruit-

ing grounds such as investment banks.

He also wrote that he wasn’t focused on whether a firm was majority-owned by a woman or racial or ethnic minority. In the interview, Mr. Swensen said that approach could let managers off the hook too easily and take the focus off of how those firms are building their broader workforce. He also said firms can artificially engineer their ownership structures to fit the bill of being considered a firm owned by women or minorities.

It is a contrarian view compared with that held by many institutional investors. Firm ownership has become a common proxy for diversity.

The ownership metric was crucial in an inquiry earlier this

year by Reps. Emanuel Cleaver II (D., Mo.) and Joseph P. Kennedy III (D., Mass.), when the legislators surveyed the largest U.S. college and university endowments to ask about their use of diverse-owned investment firms. Endowments haven’t routinely tracked the diversity of their money managers, but the inquiry and possibility of legislation have helped sparked discussion, said several endowment chiefs.

Rep. Cleaver said in a written statement this week: “Discussions on legislation are ongoing, and we will continue to examine this space closely to see how Congress can further diversify an industry that has preserved an alarming level of historical inequality.”

HEARD ON THE STREET

FINANCIAL ANALYSIS & COMMENTARY

Investors, It’s Too Soon for an Election Night Party

Don’t be overly confident that the outcome on Nov. 3—whatever it is—will be a boon for the stock market

Investors seem to have convinced themselves that the outcome of the November election will be favorable for them. A bit more caution seems to be in order. Steady gains in the polls have made Joe Biden the odds-on favorite to win the presidency, and lately it looks as if the Democrats could capture the Senate as well. Even though Democratic control of the White House might herald higher taxes on corporate profits and tighter regulations, stocks have been doing well and valuations are near their steepest levels since the dot-com debacle. The thinking seems to be that, regardless of who wins, a big stimulus package will be on its way by January. That, in combination with an eventual vaccine and a Federal Reserve that has pledged to keep monetary policy easy, could make the economy really hum.

Goldman Sachs economists estimate that the substantial stimulus that would come with a Democratic sweep, along with longer-term spending increases on areas such as infrastructure and health care, would provide the economy with a boost that would at least match any eventual drags on growth from higher taxes on corporations and higher-income earners.

Even in the event that Goldman’s analysis turns out to be on the mark, though, it is important for investors to remember that what is good for the economy isn’t always what is good for the stock market.

Mr. Biden’s plan calls for the corporate tax rate, which was lowered to 21% from 35% under the 2017 tax law, to increase to 28%. It also would increase the additional U.S. taxes some companies have to pay on foreign income under the Global Intangible Low-Taxed Income system that the 2017 tax law implemented as a way to discourage companies from concentrating profits in low-tax jurisdictions. Finally, it would introduce a minimum tax on corporations with book profits of \$100 million or more.

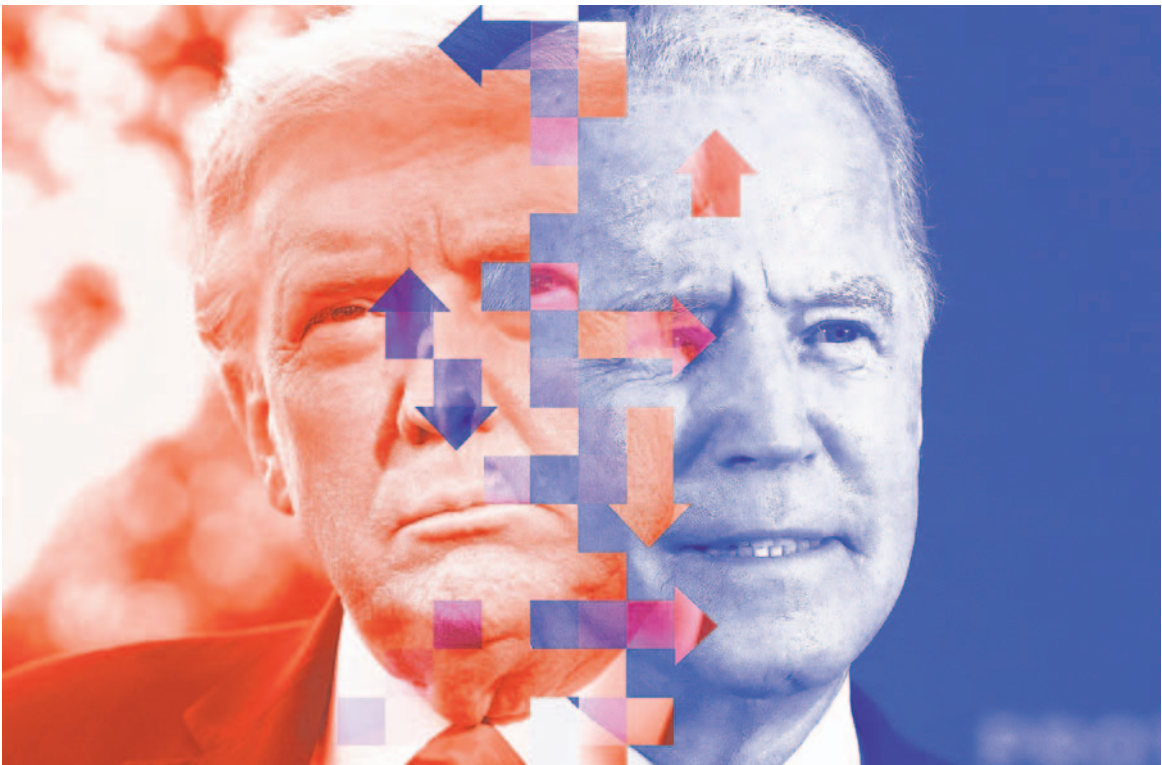


PHOTO ILLUSTRATION BY JOHN KUCZALA; GETTY IMAGES (2)

Combined, those measures would lower earnings at companies in the S&P 500 by more than 10%, according to an analysis conducted by Zion Research Group. One danger is that investors, in their excitement over the possibility of another big round of stimulus, aren’t paying close enough attention to the costs that could eat away at the profit surge they are counting on. Regulatory costs and a Biden labor agenda could weigh as well.

Another possibility is that Mr. Biden wins the presidency but Republicans hold on to the Senate. A group of forecasters with a demonstrated knack for forecasting, known as superforecasters, polled by forecasting research consultancy the Good Judgment project, give Mr. Biden an 86% chance of winning, but a lower 77% probability of the Senate coming under Democratic control. Statistical models

based on polling data are in a similar ballpark. Under that split-win scenario, the increase in corporate taxes that could come about under a Democratic sweep wouldn’t happen, but the regulatory environ-

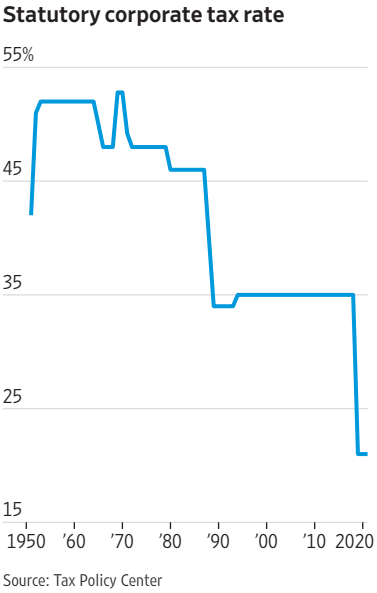
Remember: What is good for the economy isn’t always what is good for the stock market.

ment under the sway of the executive branch would shift.

More important, the chances of additional support to help the economy weather the Covid-19 crisis would be diminished. Senate Republicans have balked at House Democrats’ plans for a big round of stim-

ulus, even as President Trump urged them to “go big,” and hopes for any sort deal happening before Election Day are dwindling. Given the high level of partisanship, the Senate might be even less likely to support a big package with Mr. Biden as president.

The third possibility is that Mr. Trump again defies the apparent odds and wins the presidency. The superforecasters might give only a 13% chance of that happening, but something that could occur more than one out of every 10 throws doesn’t count as a rarity. And with over a week before Election Day, plenty could still change. If Mr. Trump’s odds are seen as getting better, stocks that have been rising as Mr. Biden’s prospects have improved, such as shares of solar-panel manufacturer First Solar, could be in for a fall. And shares of companies believed to have better



prospects under a second Trump administration, such as Exxon Mobil, could rise.

In the ultimate negative scenario for stocks, at least in the short run, the results of the election might not be known for weeks—particularly with the surge in mail-in votes, many of which won’t be counted until after Election Day. That would set the stage for an uncertain and litigious period, with neither candidate willing to concede, tempers running high and an uncomfortably high chance of violent unrest. Investors appear to have become less worried about this as expectations of a decisive Biden victory on election night have risen. The cost of insuring against market volatility in November and December is lower than it was at the beginning of this month.

Maybe things will turn out just right for the stock market following the election, with the economy soon putting the coronavirus crisis behind it and profits coming back strong. But it isn’t hard to imagine the future might be a little less rosy than investors hope.

—Justin Lahart

Cash Will (Eventually) Help Airlines Take Flight

There is no single operating manual that airlines are using to fly through the pandemic. Where foresight fails to yield results, though, cash could lend a hand.

The big four U.S. carriers together lost about \$11 billion in the third quarter, as a resurgence of coronavirus cases delayed the recovery in air travel. They have been forced to cut more flights from their schedules and push back the date at which they expect to stop burning cash.

Markets have so far chosen to be optimistic, whether due to top-down investment trends, hopes of further government aid or signs that willingness to travel may be improving ahead of Thanksgiving and Christmas. The Dow Jones U.S. Airlines Index is up 6% since **Delta Air Lines** kicked off the earnings season on Oct. 13.

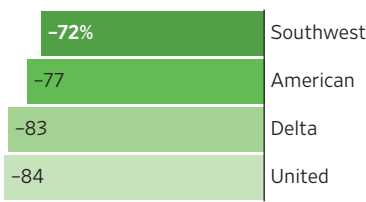
Capitalizing on scarce domestic demand, however, can be approached very differently. The latest results confirm just how divergent airline strategies have been.

American stands out as the nimblest of the three legacy carriers. Like low-cost operators, it has sought to revive sales by chasing short-term demand trends, such as point-to-point routes to sunny spots like Florida and Mexico. While third-quarter passenger revenues at Delta and **United Airlines** fell 83% and 84% from a year earlier, respectively, **American Airlines’** dropped 77%. Budget leader Southwest reported a similar figure. American’s planes were almost 60% full, far more than other major airlines.

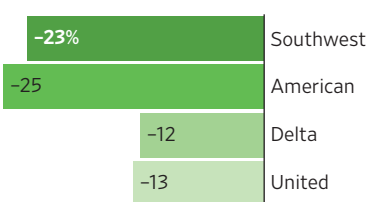
Competing with low-cost operators, though, is a double-edged sword, especially during a pandemic. Most of the third-quarter sales were to last-minute bookers at big discounts. To fill seats, American had to lower its average fare per passenger per mile by more than 25%, twice the drop reported by Delta and United. Even **Southwest Airlines** discounted less. Yet American’s operating costs are much higher, so it is losing more money relative to sales.

There are also points of strategic divergence between the two more conservative full-service players. United has included point-to-point

Passenger revenues in 3Q 2020, change from a year earlier



Domestic average fare per passenger per mile in 3Q 2020, change from a year earlier



Source: The companies

routes in its winter schedule, and confirmed last week that it won’t permanently retire aircraft to remain flexible. This will make it easier to gain market share quickly when a Covid-19 vaccine is found, but could lead to steeper costs in the meantime. By contrast, Delta has focused on reinforcing its hubs and recently emphasized efforts to reduce its fleet.

Meanwhile, Southwest is attacking airports traditionally dominated by legacy carriers, such as United’s hubs in Chicago and Houston and American’s in Miami. It intends to emerge from the pandemic with a bigger share of business travel, even though this source of revenues remains very limited for the foreseeable future.

Investors shouldn’t forget that making the right decisions now could end up being less important than preserving the ability to make them later, when the crisis finally ends. To achieve that, the only real flexibility involves having the money to course-correct. In this department, Southwest and Delta still tower above the rest.

Cash was king during the depths of the crisis this spring. When demand eventually recovers for airlines, it could be an even bigger game-changer.

—Jon Sindreu

OVERHEARD

As recently as this summer, it looked like it would take a medical Miracle on 34th Street to keep a bunch of pudgy, bearded men off the unemployment line.

The Covid-19 pandemic had led big department stores, including Macy’s in New York City, to go without a Santa Claus this year. A sideline for many, and a living for some, thousands of pseudo Saint Nicks—a high-risk group for Covid-19 due to their age and weight—were in for a bleak season.

But technology has helped demand recover, says Mitch Allen, “head elf” at staffing firm HireSanta. His company has come up with a Santa shield—a clear barrier to allow children to come within a safe distance while mom and dad snap photos. Other customers have opted for virtual visits with Santa through a video link.

“That allows them to have a traditional Santa experience,” says Mr. Allen. “You’re not going to sit in their lap of course.”

Although about a fifth of large retailers are going Santa-less this year, according to Mr. Allen, others have extended shifts to keep crowds of children and parents socially distanced. The net result has been that the total number of hours his Santas are employed will likely be higher than in a “normal” year.



Santa will be careful this year.



AmEx aims to capture a bigger slice of digital bill-paying by businesses.

AmEx Pins Its Hopes On Small Business

We would all rather be on a family road trip than doing our work expenses. But the boring stuff may be **American Express’s** best bet for the near future.

At the beginning of the summer, AmEx was hopeful that it would see a bump in travel-and-entertainment spending as pent-up demand for travel led more consumers to do things like take driving trips and stay in an Airbnb. On Friday, the company told analysts that spending on home rentals and domestic travel was doing better than urban hotels. But overall spending on lodging on AmEx’s proprietary cards in the third quarter was still down 68% from a year earlier—not much different from the 75% decline in the first half of the year.

Shopping online continues to be a huge driver of other spending. But an important corollary to that is spending by small businesses trying to get in front of those digital customers. That has fueled a 10% year-over-year bump in commercial-card spending on advertising, media and communications, by far the biggest growth area for business spenders. AmEx described what it was seeing as “creative pivoting of business models in the small-business community.”

Indeed, it is this kind of services spending by businesses that might be among AmEx’s best opportunities to make up for some of the long-term decline in lucrative cate-

gories like overseas trips and conferences. While online retail shopping is to some degree a swap-out of in-store purchases, business-to-business spending via cards is more often brand-new volume, replacing what previously might have been paid by check or wire.

AmEx noted that its primary small-business customer is more like a contractor, lawyer or architect than a restaurant or dry cleaner. AmEx is aiming to automate and capture a bigger portion of business billing that is increasingly happening digitally. It said such spending is “a large percentage of our growth right now” with small businesses. This is the same trend that has propelled stocks like **Coupa Software** and **Bill.com Holdings** to enormous gains this year.

AmEx itself is stepping up spending. It laid out \$200 million for its largest-ever Shop Small advertising campaign, and overall increased its marketing expenses by 23% over last year. AmEx is also pivoting away from its traditional heavy emphasis on travel, including by promoting rewards for non-travelers with credits for things like streaming services and wireless bills.

Travel may stay down for a long time, and AmEx shares fell 3.6% Friday. But investors should be aware that people and businesses are finding new ways to spend on their cards while sitting still.

—Telis Demos

2020

If you plan to vote by mail, plan ahead.

Election Day is November 3rd. Check your state’s rules and deadlines, and ensure you have ample time to complete the process. We’re ready to deliver for you. Make sure you’re ready, too.



Start today at **usps.com/votinginfo** for more information.





Bigger, Not Better
A new generation of giant container ships ended up hurting global trade **C3**

REVIEW

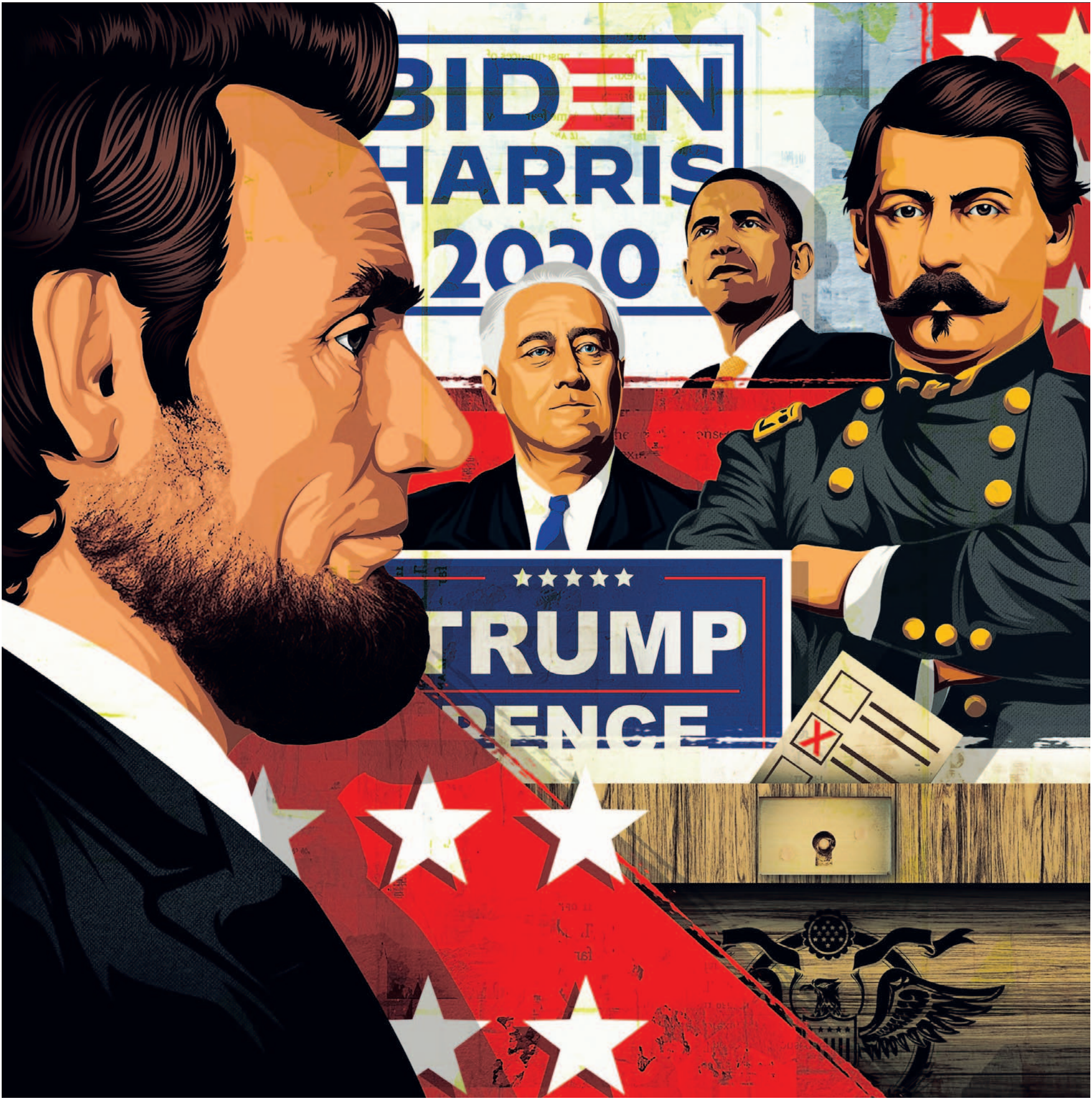
The Shawnee Brothers
Tecumseh, the Prophet and the unification of Native America **Books C7**



CULTURE | SCIENCE | POLITICS | HUMOR

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

Saturday/Sunday, October 24 - 25, 2020 | **C1**



When Elections Are Transformative

From left: Presidents Abraham Lincoln, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Barack Obama; Gen. George B. McClellan, who ran against Lincoln in 1864.

The narrative seems set in stone. Every four years, regardless of who is running for president or what shape the country is in, Americans face the most consequential election of their lives. It's the ultimate political cliché, and it's been around for centuries. In 1868, the *Atlantic* described the race featuring Republican Ulysses S. Grant and Democrat Horatio Seymour as "the most important election that Americans have ever known."

Given that the election of 1860 had fractured the nation into warring camps, while the election of 1864 had occurred during the darkest moments in our national history, the fevered depiction of the long-forgotten Grant-Seymour race carries an important truth: Presidential elections rarely live up to their hype. Election 2020 is likely to be no exception.

There have been more than 50 contested presidential elections in the U.S. since a weary George Washington bid the nation adieu, and a fair number of them can claim a distinction of sorts.

Franklin Roosevelt won the most lopsided victory ever in terms of electoral votes, trouncing Kansas Gov. Alf Landon in 1936 by the merciless count of 523 to 8. Five presidents—the latest being Donald Trump—have won the electoral college, and thus the election, while losing the popular vote. In 1824, John Quincy Adams became the first son of a president to win the White House, a feat duplicated by George W. Bush in the controversial election of 2000. The 1928 campaign saw the first Catholic candidate, Al Smith, run for president on a major party ticket, and the 1960 cam-

paign saw the second Catholic candidate, John F. Kennedy, break down that barrier. But another half-century would pass before our presidential campaigns, thanks to Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton, began to seriously reflect the diversity of the country.

Truth be told, however, few of these elections belong in the top tier of such races, and neither, at this point, does the Trump v. Biden contest, despite a gruesome year of pandemic and civil strife. There's a difference between a consequential election and a transformative one. The elevation of the 2020 election to a

The 1864 race deserves its due for maintaining democratic fundamentals at a time of national peril.

turning point in our history may well depend on one of two scenarios: President Trump loses, declares the results a farce, refuses to leave office and creates a constitutional crisis more toxic than Bush v. Gore. Or President Trump wins, completes a full realignment of his party and causes dominoes across the political spectrum to fall.

Historians are in general agreement about the handful of truly transformative presidential elections. These include the election of 1800 between Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, two Founding Fathers with very different ideas about the nation's future. What made the race so critical was the ability of these men and their supporters to hold a bitterly contested election within a newly created party system, and to do

Please turn to the next page

Prof. Oshinsky is a member of the history department at New York University and director of the Division of Medical Humanities at NYU Langone Health. His book "Polio: An American Story" won the 2006 Pulitzer Prize for history.

Inside

MIND & MATTER

New research shows the long-lasting benefits of preschool, but the U.S. still lags behind other countries in rates of attendance. **C4**



Weaving History

Humanity's appetite for textiles has had a profound effect on technology, politics and economics. **C4**

WEEKEND CONFIDENTIAL

How Anna Donlon led the team behind the hit videogame 'Valorant.' **C6**



SCIENCE

Outer space is home to the same particles that give eggs and vodka their scent. **C5**



REVIEW

The Election That Saved the Union

Continued from the prior page

so in a way that allowed for the peaceful transfer of power. There were no riots, no calls for military intervention, no threats to secede from the Union. “We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists,” Jefferson famously said at his inauguration, knowing that the Constitution had passed its first crucial test.

Also dominating these lists is the presidential campaign of Andrew Jackson in 1828, the first to use large rallies and torchlight parades, ushering in an era of mass democracy for white men and a nightmare of forced relocation for Native Americans. A Southerner and a slaveholder, often violent and uncouth, Jackson would use his presidency to defend the Union against those who threatened to divide it, believing, like Jefferson and Lincoln, that secession would be a dagger to the nation’s heart.

The other presidential contests most often cited as transformative are those that confronted vital issues in a time of maximum crisis. The “Civil War election” of Abraham Lincoln in 1860 is always included, as is the “New Deal election” of Franklin Roosevelt in 1932. Most lists contain the Kennedy-Nixon campaign of 1960, with JFK’s reli-

‘It seems exceedingly probable that this Administration will not be re-elected.’

ABRAHAM LINCOLN
Aug. 23, 1864

gion and the first televised debates taking center stage. I prefer the lesser known Johnson-Goldwater election of 1964, in which LBJ made civil rights a national issue, the infant war in Vietnam was readily endorsed and Goldwater offered a brand of modern conservatism that Ronald Reagan brought to fruition.

Less often discussed is a presidential campaign with remarkable echoes of the Trump-Biden race. It occurred at the height of the greatest national emergency in our history and centered on issues of race, absentee voting, calls for postponement, a Supreme Court nomination and the peaceful transfer of power. Bitterly divisive, it was less a contest between the two candidates—Gen. George McClellan and President Abraham Lincoln—than a referendum on the behavior and leadership of the incumbent. Though a favorite of distinguished Civil War historians like Eric Foner, James McPherson and Doris Kearns Goodwin, the campaign of 1864 rarely makes the list of top presidential races. It remains a footnote, at best, in the sweeping narrative of American politics.

The race unfolded against the backdrop of mass slaughter. Having won decisive victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg in the summer of 1863, Union forces found themselves in a brutal war of attrition against an enemy that showed no signs of relenting. Cold Harbor, The Wilderness, Spotsylvania Courthouse—all brought alarming casualties but little good news. Caught in a nasty political crossfire between “peace” Democrats demanding an immediate end to the war and Radical Republicans demanding the toughest possible terms for a Rebel surrender, Lincoln’s popularity plummeted.

Harper’s Weekly printed a list of terms that the president’s enemies were using to describe him: Tyrant, Despot, Robber, Monster, Liar, Scoundrel, Widow-maker, Ignoramus Abe. But the worst epithets were racial. Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 had revived the long-held fears of many white Northerners that “hordes” of newly freed slaves would flood their cities in search of jobs and housing. Sooner or later, warned the New York Daily News, “we shall find negroes among us thicker than blackberries.”

The 1864 campaign likely stands as the most blatantly racist in American history. Lincoln’s Democratic opponents took to calling him “Abraham Africanus the First,”

while portraying the Republican Party platform as the Ten Commandments from hell: “Thou Shall Have No Other God Than the Negro.” The New York World, a notorious anti-Lincoln newspaper, printed a hand-colored lithograph, “The Miscegenation Ball,” showing mixed-race couples dancing and hugging at an event sponsored by the “Lincoln Central Campaign Club,” with a portrait of the president smiling down upon the revelers. The World presented this fictitious event as if it had actually taken place. “This fact, WE CERTIFY,” it declared.

Lincoln fully expected to lose the election to McClellan, whom he had removed from command for failing to aggressively prosecute the war. In a private memo to his cabinet, dated Aug. 23, 1864, Lincoln wrote: “This morning, as for some days past, it seems exceedingly probable that this Administration will not be re-elected. Then it will be my duty to so cooperate with the President elect, as to save the Union.” It never crossed Lincoln’s mind to challenge the coming vote or to impede the process of presidential succession.

Nor did he endorse the scheme floated by some supporters to postpone the election. Eleven states had seceded from the Union, armed mobs had attacked army recruiting offices, and a Confederate raid on Washington in the summer of 1864 had come within 5 miles of the White House. Lincoln, however, refused to budge. American democracy rested on the will of the people. “We cannot have free government without elections,” he said, “and if the rebellion could force us to forego or postpone a national election, it might fairly claim to have already conquered and ruined us.”

Presidential campaigns can change on a dime. Today we call it an “October Surprise.” In 1864, it arrived in September via telegram from Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman: “Atlanta is ours, and fairly won.” Suddenly, the war seemed winnable; the stalled momentum of Gettysburg and Vicksburg had been revived. “The impact of this event cannot be exaggerated,” wrote James McPherson. “The president was now a victorious leader instead of a discredited loser.”

Lincoln intended to make the most of it. As new energy pulsed through



the Union ranks, the White House revived an obscure Revolutionary War experiment: absentee voting by the troops. Both parties endorsed the idea, the Democrats believing that McClellan, a career military officer, would prevail. But Lincoln knew better, writes Ms. Goodwin. “He trusted the bond he had developed with his soldiers during his many trips to the front. After every defeat he had joined them, riding slowly along their lines, boosting their spirits.” He had entered their encampments and spent endless hours in military hospitals consoling the wounded. One historian estimated that “a quarter million or



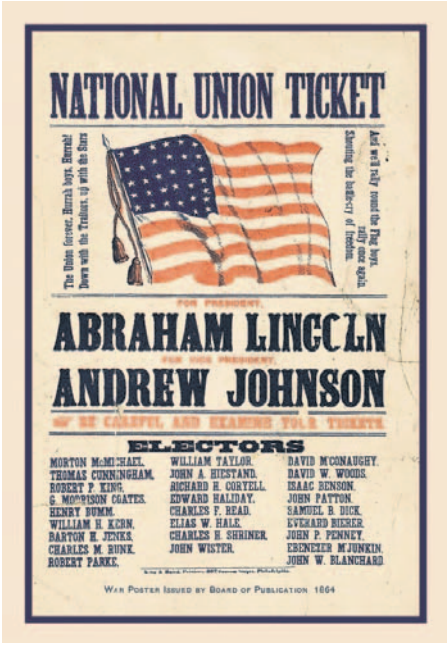
Above: 1964 campaign buttons from President Lyndon B. Johnson and his Republican challenger, Sen. Barry Goldwater. Below: An engraving shows Union soldiers from Pennsylvania voting in their camp in the 1864 election.



HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF THE JAMES—PENNSYLVANIA SOLDIERS VOTING.—SKETCHED BY WILLIAM WADE.—[SEE NEXT PAGE.]



Above: An engraving shows President-elect Andrew Jackson on his journey to Washington, D.C., in February 1829. Left: Portrait of Thomas Jefferson by Rembrandt Peale, 1800. Below: An 1864 campaign poster for the Republican ticket



more had some glimpse of him on their own.”

Thirteen states quickly passed legislation that permitted absentee voting in the field, while four others approved a proxy system that allowed soldiers to place their ballots in a sealed envelope to be mailed to a trusted stand-in. When a few states balked, requiring voters to show up in person, Lincoln urged his generals to furlough those wishing to return home. Asked about the process, he replied: “I would rather be defeated with the soldier vote behind me than be elected without it.”

He need not have worried. In the 12 states that tabulated soldier ballots separately, Lincoln won close to 80% of the vote, helping to ensure his victory. Despite isolated incidents of fraud, the process went smoothly. Over time, as American society became more mobile, absentee voting was extended to civilians, with most states allowing them to apply without having to provide an excuse. It’s estimated that more than one-third of the votes cast in the Trump-Biden election will arrive by mail.

Less than a month before the election, Chief Justice Roger B. Taney died. As if Lincoln didn’t have enough on his plate, he now had to nominate a replacement for the jurist who had written the infamous Dred Scott decision of 1857, which ruled that people of African descent, slave or free, “had no rights which the white man was bound to respect.” Lincoln was very far removed from the views of Taney, as Donald Trump is from the views of Ruth Bader Ginsburg. The difference is that Lincoln decided to wait until after the election to choose a replacement.

Some historians support the view expressed by Sen. Kamala Harris at the recent confirmation hearing of Judge Amy Coney Barrett that Lincoln thought it unseemly to nominate a chief justice only weeks before the people would be choosing the next president. Other historians disagree. Lincoln hesitated, they believe, because Congress wasn’t in session and he didn’t want to alienate any of the powerful men vying for that position on the eve of his own reelection. What can be said with assurance is that both Trump and Lincoln had the good fortune to be able fill an unusually large number of vacancies—three for Trump, five for Lincoln—allowing each man to dramatically shape the future of the Court.

Election Day brought no more surprises. Lincoln crushed McClellan, winning 55% of the popular vote

Lincoln urged his generals to furlough soldiers who wished to return home to vote.

and all but three states, the electoral count standing at 212 to 21. He was the first president to win reelection since Andrew Jackson’s victory in 1832.

On March 4, 1865, with the Confederacy on the brink of collapse, Lincoln delivered his second inaugural address to an enormous, rain-soaked crowd outside the Capitol building. Declaring that God had inflicted “this terrible war” upon “both North and South” as judgment for the evils of slavery, he pleaded for a reconciliation with “malice toward none” and “charity for all.” He would die five weeks later at the hands of a Confederate assassin, at the age of 56.

The 1864 campaign deserves its due for many reasons, most importantly the president’s insistence on maintaining the fundamentals of democracy at a time of the greatest national peril. Writing from the bloody Shenandoah Valley, a young Union soldier described the thrill he felt in casting his vote from the field. “Thousands of bits of paper are falling into ballot boxes today.... It’s almost a new thing in the history of the world when the results of whether this country shall be governed by one principle or another can be decided by such simple means. God hastens the day when all questions may be decided in the same way.”

As our own election approaches, it’s a message well worth remembering.

REVIEW



The container ship Emma Maersk at the port of Hamburg, Germany, in 2014.

By Marc Levinson

On August 16, 2006, five tugboats dragged Emma Maersk from a Danish shipyard and towed her backward to the sea. The length of four soccer fields, her keel nearly a hundred feet below her deck, Emma was far larger than any container ship ever before ordered and by far the most expensive. She was a bet on globalization: By transporting a container more cheaply than any other vessel afloat, she and her six sister ships were expected to stimulate even faster growth in international trade, lowering the cost of moving goods through the supply chains that had reshaped the global economy and turned China into the world’s workshop.

The opposite occurred. Though supremely efficient at sea, Emma and the even larger ships that followed in her wake became a nightmare. By making freight transportation slower and less reliable than it had been decades earlier, they helped to stifle the globalization of manufacturing well before Brexit, Donald Trump and Covid-19 came along.

Container ships are the workhorses of globalization. Operating on regular schedules—such that an identical vessel departs Shanghai every Wednesday, stops in Singapore nine days later and arrives in Antwerp five weeks hence, with tight connections to barges and freight trains—intermodal container transport gave manufacturers and retailers the confidence to plan tightly organized long-distance supply chains. Before Emma, each new generation of ships since the dawn of the container age in 1956 had been slightly larger than the one before. The rationale was straightforward: On a per-container basis, a

The Megaships That Broke Global Trade

With a new generation of giant container ships, firms and governments made a big bet on the future of globalization—and lost.

larger vessel cost less to build and operate than a smaller one, allowing the owner to undercut competitors’ cargo rates and still earn a healthy profit.

Their size was expected to give Emma and her sister ships an immense cost advantage on the most important route in shipping, the roughly 14,000-mile haul between China and northern Europe. Maersk forecast in 2006 that a global trade boom would double the demand for container shipping by 2016. Its concern was having enough ships to handle all that cargo.

The major ship lines, almost all of which were state run or family controlled, felt compelled to follow Maersk’s lead. Megaship mania took hold, and orders for ships even larger than Emma flooded Asian shipyards. With the help of low interest rates and generous shipbuilding subsidies from the Chinese and South Korean governments, ships were to be had for far less than the true cost of building them. But the expected trade boom never occurred. Instead, international trade collapsed amid the financial crisis in 2008-09, and when it picked up again, its growth was far weaker than before. In the decade before the crisis, trade had expanded by 78%. In the decade after 2008, it in-

creased less than half as much. Merchandise trade—exports plus imports—came to 51% of the world’s economic output in 2008, but hasn’t reached that share again.

By the early 2010s, there simply weren’t enough container loads to fill all the new capacity. Had the U.S. imported as much in 2016 as it did in 2011, relative to GDP, an additional half-trillion dollars of imports would have entered the country in a single year. The trade slump wiped out the cost advantages of larger vessels. Freight rates fell so low that revenue didn’t cover operating costs, flooding the oceans with red ink. Some carriers folded. Others found merger partners. The survivors sought shelter in alliances with competitors, in hopes that several ship lines working together could generate sufficient cargo to fill their ships.

The megaships themselves, though, played a role in slowing the growth of trade. As ship lines trimmed capacity by anchoring vessels and canceling services, a box filled with time-sensitive merchandise might have to sit longer at the port before it could be loaded aboard ship. Discharging and reloading the vessel took longer as well, and not only because there were more boxes to put off and on. The new ships were much

wider than their predecessors, so each of the giant shoreside cranes needed to reach a greater distance before picking up an inbound container and bringing it to the wharf, adding seconds to the average time required to move each box. Thou-

By the early 2010s, there simply weren’t enough container loads to fill all the new capacity.

sands more boxes multiplied by more handling time per box could add hours, or even days, to the average port call. Delays were legion.

Once, container ships would have been able to make up those delays en route. But that was, and is, no longer possible. To save fuel and reduce greenhouse gas emissions, recent generations of vessels are uniformly designed to steam more slowly than their predecessors. Instead of 24 or 25 knots, they travel at 17 or 18, adding several days to a long ocean voy-

age. And where earlier ships were able to speed up if required to get back on schedule, the megaships cannot. By 2018, 30% of the ships leaving China departed late.

The land side of international logistics was scrambled as well. At the ports, it was feast or famine: Fewer vessels called, but each one moved more boxes off and on, leaving equipment and infrastructure either unused or overwhelmed. Mountains of boxes stuffed with imports and exports filled the patios at container terminals. The higher the stacks grew, the longer it took the stacker cranes to locate a particular box, remove it from the stack and place it aboard the transporter that would take it to be loaded aboard ship or to the rail yard or truck terminal for delivery to a customer.

Freight railroads staggered under the heavy flow of boxes into and out of the ports. Where once an entire shipload of imports might be on its way to inland destinations within a day, now it could take two or three. Queues of diesel-belching trucks lined up at terminal gates, drivers unable to collect their loads because the ship lines had too few chassis on which to haul the arriving containers. And often enough, the partners in one of the four alliances that came to dominate ocean shipping didn’t use the same terminal in a particular port, requiring expensive truck trips just to transfer boxes from an inbound ship at one terminal to an outbound ship at another.

Today, much of the world’s trade moves in vessels far larger even than Emma Maersk, each able to carry more freight than 10,000 full-size trucks. After a prolonged rate war, consolidation has finally allowed the carriers to push up cargo rates by idling ships, but hidden costs have soared. Governments have picked up many of those costs, subsidizing international trade by funding higher bridges, deeper harbors, stronger wharves and larger cranes to accommodate megaships, as well as the vessels themselves.

Shippers have borne a considerable burden as well. To reduce the risk that goods won’t arrive on time, businesses are keeping more inventory, shipping via multiple routings and producing in multiple factories rather than in giant sole-source plants. Such measures, reversing a decades-long focus on minimizing production, transportation and inventory costs, don’t flatter the bottom line. With proper accounting, the globalization of manufacturers’ supply chains no longer seems such a bargain, regardless of whether populists and pandemics are raging.

Mr. Levinson is an economist and historian. This essay is adapted from his new book “Outside the Box: How Globalization Changed From Moving Stuff to Spreading Ideas,” published by Princeton University Press.



WORD ON THE STREET
BEN ZIMMER

Show-Biz Slang for Success, Applied to Politics

PRESIDENT TRUMP has often viewed his time in office through a show-business lens, as revealed by the language he uses. That was certainly the case earlier this week, when he tweeted about his confidence in winning re-election by boasting that “Every RALLY is BOFFO.”

Mr. Trump’s use of the word “boffo” might have perplexed anyone unfamiliar with the historical lingo of the entertainment industry. “Boffo,” as an adjective meaning “extremely successful” or “sensational,” was first popularized in the pages of Variety magazine—a fact that

Variety itself trumpeted this week in an article headlined, “Donald Trump Brings ‘Boffo’ Back for an Encore.”

Variety, which got its start as a weekly newspaper reporting on the theatrical scene in 1905, came into its own in the 1930s under the editorship of Abel Green. Green was credited with introducing a special kind of Variety-speak known as “slanguage,” full of peculiar jargon and abbreviations—most famously illustrated by the 1935 headline about the negative reaction in rural areas to movies about farmers, “Sticks Nix Hick Pix.”

In Variety’s language, “boffo” was equivalent to “socko” and

“whammo” as a descriptor of something considered a smashing success, like a movie that does brisk business at the box office. For instance, a February 1939 article on San Francisco theatrical grosses reported \$22,000 in receipts for the Cary Grant film “Gunga Din,” or as the headline succinctly put it, “‘Gunga’ Boffo 22G.”

“Boffo” started off with a different show-business meaning, first used in comedy circles for a joke or a gag, especially one eliciting uproarious laughter. “Lew Lehr’s dialectic comedy was in the boffo groove,” read an approving Variety review of a radio show in 1938. As James Agee explained in a 1949 Life magazine

article on comedians of the silent-film era, “the boffo is the laugh that kills,” heartier than a titter, yowl or belly laugh. “Bof-fola” was a further variant on the sidesplitting theme.

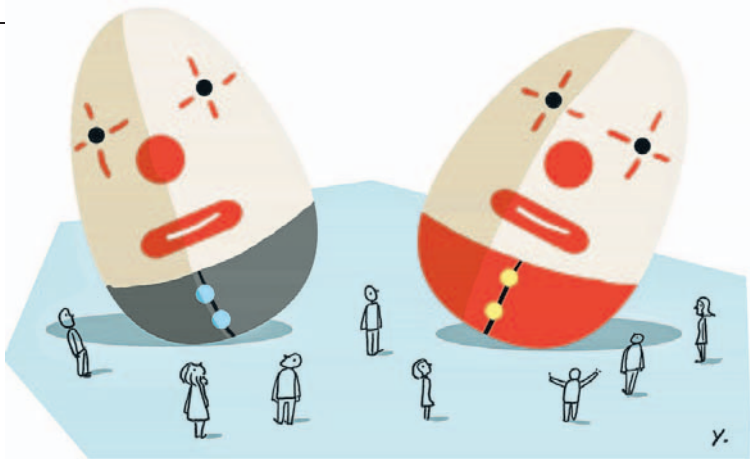
The comedic usage of “boffo” may have originated in the Italian word “buffo,” meaning “funny” or “burlesque,” often applied to singers in the comic opera genre known as “opera buffa.” “Buffo” is related to the Italian verb “buffare,” meaning “to puff up,” perhaps as a metaphor for light, frivolous entertainment, or else an allusion to puffing up one’s cheeks as a comic gesture, according to the Oxford English Dictionary. The same set of puffy Italian words also includes “buffone” for a clown or fool, the source of the English word “buffoon.”

While “boffo” may have had buffoonish roots, its use in Variety for a big success likely had more to do with the boxing ring than the comic stage. A “boff” could mean a potent blow from a fist, imitative of the sound of a punch landing. In the pages of Variety, the pugilistic kind of “boff” appeared in the writing of Jack “Con” Conway, who specialized in slang-filled articles about

the boxing scene, popularizing such colloquialisms as “baloney.” As early as 1921, Conway wrote of a boxer walloping his opponent “with a boff that you could hear all over the buildin.” Variety’s synonyms for “boffo”—“socko” and “whammo”—likewise evoke mighty, knockout-worthy punches.

As Variety’s senior vice president Tim Gray wrote this week, “Trump’s use of the vintage word is yet another reminder that a major part of his career was spent breathlessly waiting for ratings results from ‘The Apprentice.’” Calling his rallies “boffo” is of a piece with Mr. Trump’s other showbiz-isms, like admiring his appointees for looking as if they’re straight out of “central casting.”

But “boffo” is indeed a “vintage” term, as Mr. Gray noted; it never quite entered mainstream vocabulary. And even Variety has largely retired “boffo” and other language in recent years, as the magazine has sought to appeal to a broader online audience. Even in the modern digital medium of Twitter, it’s doubtful that the president’s invocation of the word will result in a Hollywood-style comeback.



[Boffo]

REVIEW

MIND & MATTER

SUSAN PINKER

Preschool Brings Lasting Benefits



MULTIPLE STUDIES show that going to pre-school gives young children a leg up on all kinds of learning, not just academics but social skills, listening, planning and self-control. But how big is that early boost and how long does it last? The answer matters because, despite bipartisan support for early childhood education, pre-school is unevenly funded in the U.S., resulting in lower levels of attendance than in other countries. According to the National Institute for Early Education Research, 34% of American 4-year-olds attended preschool last year. Compare that with 60% in Canada and 90% in the EU.

A new study published in the journal *Developmental Psychology* clarifies some of the differences between children who go to preschool and those who stay home. Though the researchers didn't randomly assign children to each group, they ensured that the preschool attenders and nonattenders were demographically similar. The 2,581 children in the study lived in the same ethnically diverse U.S. county, and all came from families whose income put them below the poverty line, making them eligible for subsidized pre-kindergarten. A quarter of the families received public assistance and 10% had no full-time wage earner.

Researchers measured how attenders and nonattenders stacked up against each other at the beginning and the end of kindergarten. In general, they found that "children who attended pre-K outperformed the others in terms of language and literacy and math. We're talking about the very basics," said Arya Ansari, the lead author of the study and an assistant professor of human sciences at Ohio State University.

At the beginning of kindergarten, preschool attenders were far more advanced than nonattenders on assessments of vocabulary, background knowledge, letter identification, short-term memory and other areas. For example, the pre-K attenders were approximately 8 months ahead of



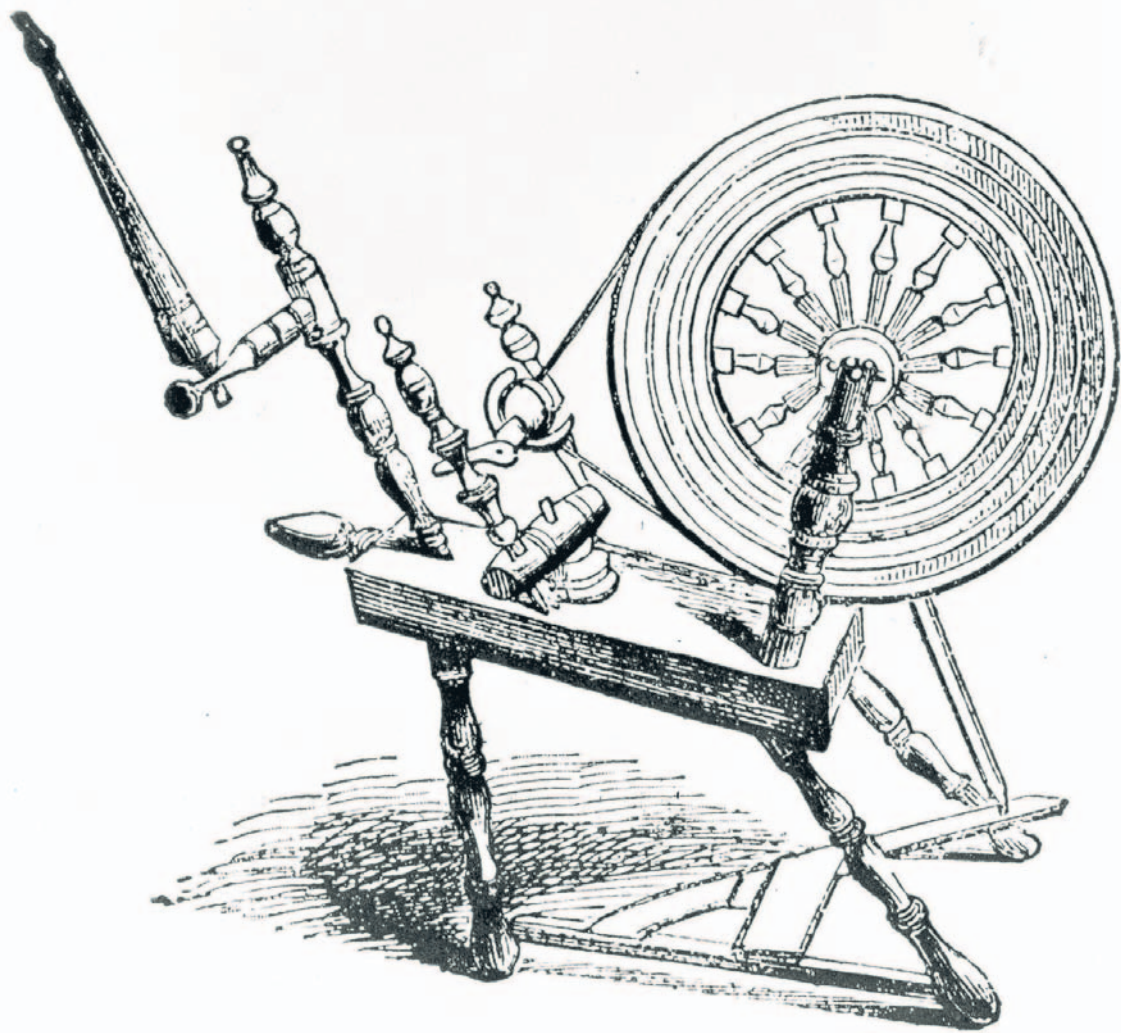
Children who go to preschool are far more likely to graduate from college.

nonattenders in academic learning and about 5 months ahead in executive function skills, such as listening, planning and self-control.

By the end of kindergarten, the nonattenders were beginning to catch up, but more in some subjects than others. Eighty percent of the starting gap in pre-literacy skills was erased by the first year of instruction, but only 55% of the gap in math skills and 45% in general knowledge. Given that all subjects in a classroom were taught by the same teacher, the disparity can be attributed to the nature of the subjects themselves, as opposed to the quality of the teaching. Other independent factors such as the child's feelings about the teacher or the amount of attention they received were assessed and controlled for by the researchers.

And the advantage of preschool attenders may actually increase as they get further away from kindergarten. Earlier studies on the impact of preschool programs have often shown lukewarm results in the first few years, but decades later, dramatic sleeper effects emerge. Even when controlling for their parents' income and education levels, preschool attenders have been found to be less likely to become teenage parents or receive public assistance and far more likely to graduate from college and get good jobs as young adults.

Childhood isn't a race, of course. Still, the pace of learning is important because knowledge builds on itself. Think of any skill: playing the piano, shooting hoops, driving a car—even impulse control. It's almost never too late to start, but the earlier you do—within limits—the better your chances of getting better all the time, as Paul McCartney put it.



An illustration of an English spinning wheel from 1790.

the tension between codified knowledge and tacit know-how. Slater succeeded because he not only knew how to design a spinning machine, he knew the subtle tricks needed to operate it effectively. The silk thread produced in Derby was never as good as the best Piedmontese product, because English manufacturers lacked the hard-won expertise of the Italian women who reeled silk from cocoons. After the British chemist William Perkin invented the first synthetic dye in the 1850s, he spent much of his time teaching textile makers how to get his neatly formulated chemicals to work with the messier reality of varied fabrics, water sources and desired effects.

Textiles are sources of status and signals of identity, and people will go to great lengths to get the fabrics they want. In the 17th and 18th centuries, Europeans went crazy for printed cottons from India. The colorfast dyes, beautiful patterns and soft, lightweight fabrics surpassed anything Europeans could achieve—threatening silk, linen and wool producers.

In response, some countries, including Britain, banned the imports. In France, where the silk industry was running the show, the government went even further, banning all cotton imports, even plain cloth, and all printed textiles, even if they were made in France. From 1686 to 1759, France treated calico essentially the way the U.S. treats cocaine: Traffickers could be sentenced to years rowing in the navy's galleys. Major offenders were executed. People caught wearing calico could be arrested and imprisoned without trial.

But prohibition didn't work. Calico was worn by the country's most fashionable women within sight of its most powerful men, and its popularity never dimmed. Instead of building the kingdom's wealth, the ban turned countless citizens into outlaws.

Whether purchasing cloth, making it for themselves or seizing it from others, textile consumers have always been ready to break laws and flout traditions. Sometimes they even start wars. A nomadic people who wore furs and felt, the Mongols of the 12th century didn't weave. But they treasured woven textiles, and their desire for fine fabrics motivated many of their conquests. "The common thread running through all the inventories of plunder is rare and colorful textiles, tenting and clothing," writes historian Thomas Allsen. Mongol leaders greeted visitors in enormous white felt tents lined with their favorite cloth, a brocade made with gold threads.

In 1221, the Mongols invaded Afghanistan. One of their prizes was the city of Herat, a weaving center known for its cloth of gold. Capturing as many as a thousand skilled weavers, the Mongols took them 1,500 miles across Central Asia to the Uyghur capital of Beshbalik, where they established a weaving colony. Along with their skills, the captive weavers brought their religion, Islam. Beshbalik had been a town of Christians and Buddhists, but it soon had a thriving Muslim community, seeded by the captive weavers from Herat. Later, Islam spread from the south and west, becoming the region's dominant faith. But the transformation started with cloth. In this as in so many other instances, textiles changed the world.

This essay is adapted from Ms. Postrel's new book, "The Fabric of Civilization: How Textiles Made the World," which will be published by Basic Books on Nov. 10.

The World-Changing Technology of Textiles

The fabric of modern life is more than a metaphor: The cloth we make and wear has driven the development of new laws, inventions and social arrangements.

By VIRGINIA POSTREL

In a 1991 *Scientific American* article, the influential computer scientist Mark Weiser predicted a coming era of "ubiquitous computing," operating as seamlessly in the background as the electric motors in a modern car. "The most profound technologies are those that disappear," he wrote. "They weave themselves into the fabric of everyday life until they are indistinguishable from it."

With his invocation of seamlessness, weaving and fabric, Weiser nodded, probably unconsciously, toward a far older, equally ubiquitous and rarely acknowledged technology: textiles. The word itself comes from the Indo-European root *teks*, which means to weave—the same root that gives us the word "technology." From cave-dwellers twisting plant fibers into string to scientists embedding computer chips into threads, the story of textiles is the story of human ingenuity in all its manifestations: technical, artistic, economic and cultural.

The conflict between highly productive new technologies and fears of mass unemployment—"the robots are taking our jobs"—started with textiles. The Luddites, English weavers who smashed mechanical looms in the early 19th century, gave their name to technological resistance. Ironically, however, those weavers owed their own well-paid jobs to an earlier disruptive technology: spinning machines, which produced the yarn that weavers turned into cloth.

Before the Industrial Revolution, spinning wool into yarn was by far Britain's largest industrial occupation, employing as many as 1.5 million people in a total workforce of about 4 million. Keeping a single weaver supplied with yarn required about 20 spinners. "The spinners never stand still for want of work; they always have it if they please; but weavers sometimes are idle for want of yarn," an observer wrote in 1768.

Spinners were paid miserably, yet their labor constituted a greater proportion of the cost of cloth than anything except the raw material. That's because cloth consumes staggering amounts of

yarn, and hand spinning takes a long time. The denim in a single pair of jeans, for instance, consumes about 6 miles of cotton yarn. The best spinners would have taken about 100 hours to produce that much. That's nearly 13 eight-hour days.

The invention of spinning machines in the late 18th century broke the bottleneck. Yarn production soared even as quality improved. But the inventions also threw people out of work: A petition to Parliament complained that thousands of families were "pining for want of Employment." Protesters smashed machinery and demanded government relief. The town of Wigan halted the "use of all Machines and Engines worked by Water or Horse, for carding, roving or spinning of Cotton."

After commissioning a report, lawmakers decided against action. Despite the upheaval, they judged, spinning mills were creating new kinds

Right: An 18th-century priestly vestment made of printed Indian cotton. Below: French patterned silk from the same period.



of jobs and benefiting the nation in other ways. From clothing to sails, bed linens to flour sacks, essential items were suddenly much cheaper, more varied and more easily obtained. It was the beginning of what economic historian Deirdre McCloskey calls "the Great Enrichment," the economic takeoff that over the next two

centuries lifted global living standards by 3,000 percent.

Spinning technology migrated to the U.S. in 1789, when 21-year-old Samuel Slater, who had been an apprentice in an English mill, illicitly exported his knowledge. Industrial espionage is a textile tradition, dating at least as far back as the Nestorian monks who smuggled silkworm eggs into the Byzantine Empire from China in the 6th century. In the early 1700s, the English brothers John



and Thomas Lombe conspired to copy Italian silk-twisting machines, establishing a factory in Derby. In the early 19th century, an adventurer named William Burling smuggled cotton seeds out of Mexico, introducing the variety that made the crop viable throughout the American South. Textile history also illustrates

EVLEVI HOCKSTEIN/FOR THE WASHINGTON POST/GETTY IMAGES

GETTY IMAGES (2); ALAMY (INDIAN COTTON)

REVIEW

By Harold McGee

Consider making caramel on your stovetop. You start with a single ingredient, white crystals of table sugar, which taste simply sweet and have no aroma. Put the sugar in a pot, apply heat energy and stir. After a few minutes, you’ve turned the solid crystals into a colorless liquid. Still no aroma. Keep heating, and that liquid turns pale yellow—and begins to smell. It gets light brown, then progressively darker and stronger-smelling. In the end you’ve made a dark syrup that is sweet but also sour and bitter, and richly aromatic. From one substance you’ve made many: from simplicity, complexity.

A similar process cooked up the entire universe as we know it. The original recipe from the Chef of the cosmos goes something like this. Mix a dozen kinds of elementary particles together with four fundamental forces, and set aside. After a few hundred million years, the particles have combined to form atoms, a hundred different kinds. After another long stretch, many of those atoms have combined to form molecules—and the mix begins to smell, in ways that our earthbound noses could theoretically detect.

Molecules in outer space exist because their atoms happened to bump into each other and stick. The most abundant atoms in space include hydrogen, oxygen and carbon, whose particular electron-sharing tendencies naturally lead to the formation of small molecules like oxygen gas, water and carbon monoxide and dioxide. Carbon atoms also readily bond with each other to form long chainlike molecules, as well as six-cornered ring molecules. The chains and rings nestle together with others of their kind and can aggregate to form ever larger masses: cosmic soot.

The dark swirls in the molecular clouds are a mixture of carbon soot and similar aggregates of primordial minerals. These various particles make up what’s called interstellar dust. The individual grains of interstellar dust are microscopically tiny, but their influence on the development of the cosmos is huge. They provide a solid surface to which free-floating atoms and small molecules can stick, encouraging chemical activity, new reactions, larger molecules. On them the material world became increasingly diverse, complex, capable of further development. And to the nose of the cosmic Chef, it became aromatic—billions of years before our own sun began to shine.

In 2020, the roster of known interstellar molecules numbers more than 200. Let’s start with the simplest cosmic molecules for which we have smell receptors, those made of just three or four atoms. (Two-atom sodium chloride is salty and hydrogen chloride is sour, but no two-atom molecules are aromatic.) We don’t have receptors for water, carbon dioxide or nitrous oxide, though all are important in the air we breathe.

But two other simple volatiles

The Eagle Nebula, 5,700 light years from Earth, emits clouds of dust that facilitate chemical reactions in space.



What Does Outer Space Smell Like?

The molecules that give eggs, vinegar and nail polish remover their distinctive odor are also found in clouds of interstellar dust.

have very familiar smells. Hydrogen sulfide combines the elements hydrogen and sulfur in a molecule whose smell we can detect in very small traces, possibly because higher concentrations can be irritating and even fatal. We typically identify the smell as “eggy” because it’s the characteristic note of freshly cooked eggs—or when it’s stinkily strong, “rotten-eggy,” because it escapes from decomposing organic matter of all kinds. But Earth’s volcanoes and hot springs have been emitting this molecule since long before the earliest organisms or eggs. Better to call its primeval smell “sulfurous” or “sulfidic.” Other sulfur volatiles give garlic, onions and cabbage their strong identities, but they also contribute to the aromatic appeal of roasted meats and coffee, and add “exotic” notes in some fruits and wines.

Ammonia, with an atom of nitrogen at its center, was one of the first molecules detected in interstellar space. It’s also found in the atmospheres of the gas giant planets, Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus and Neptune—and in household cleaning products, overripe cheese and salami, underripe animal manure and urine. Its smell is that of unscented household cleaner, which is about 30% ammonia. Smelling salts are also made from ammonia, because it’s irritating and triggers strong

physical reflexes; prolonged exposure can be fatal.

The majority of primordial molecules larger than four atoms contain carbon, the fourth most abundant element in the cosmos after hydrogen, helium and oxygen. Mothball- and lighter-fluid-like naphthalene is a double-ring ten-carbon molecule, used to kill moths and as a fuel in cigarette lighters and camp stoves. Wine lovers know a modified version of naphthalene as the prized “kerosene” note of well-aged Rieslings. All of these primordial volatiles

In 2020, the roster of known interstellar molecules numbers more than 200.

have something in common: an absence of oxygen, the universe’s third most abundant element. Bring oxygen into the structures of carbon chains and the smell register begins to shift. Chemical, irritating formaldehyde, with one carbon atom, is a preservative used in biology labs, embalming and manufacturing; it’s a known

carcinogen. Fresh, green-apple-like acetaldehyde, with two carbon atoms, is found in many fermented foods, including yogurt and aged wines. Solventy acetone is a three-carbon chain and is commonly used in nail polish remover. It’s also detectable on our own breath when we haven’t eaten for a few hours; our body produces it when it’s low on carbohydrate fuel and has to start burning fat for energy.

There are also interstellar alcohols, two in number. Vodka and solvent-like methanol and ethanol are the one- and two-carbon alcohols, both of them intoxicating. Methanol is known as methyl or wood alcohol and is extremely toxic. Ethanol and ethyl alcohol are the chemical names for what we commonly call alcohol; after water, it’s the primary component of all wines, beers and distilled spirits.

The interstellar fatty acids, also two to date, are sour to the taste like other acids. Sharp, slightly vinegary formic acid is the one-carbon volatile acid, a chemical weapon found in ants and other insects but turned against them by the anteater, which relies on it to help digest them. Acetic acid is the two-carbon volatile acid, and very familiar: It’s the defining molecule in vinegar, produced from molecules of ethanol by bacteria that can grow in beers and wines.

The smells of Earth will always be our reference points; all this imaginary sniffing around the cosmos is very much perception at second hand. Yet the molecules in outer space aren’t foreign to us at all. True, they’re not an especially appealing bunch. Many are austere and harsh, qualities that seem a fitting reflection of their original birthplace. If we’d been assisting the Chef of the cosmos from the Big Bang on, so that the smells of Earth were among the last we experienced rather than the first, then cooked eggs, rotting greens, vinegar and alcohol would remind us of dust clouds, atoms first meeting atoms long enough to start a relationship, their simple newborn offspring pointing the way toward the great molecular and odorous diversity of our world.

Mr. McGee is a writer on the science of food and cooking. This essay is adapted from his new book “Nose Dive: A Field Guide to the World’s Smells,” published this week by Penguin Press.

HISTORICALLY SPEAKING

AMANDA FOREMAN

Tales That Go Bump In the Night



AS THE NOVELIST

Neil Gaiman, a master of the macabre, once said, “Fear is a wonderful thing, in small doses.” In this respect, we’re no different than our ancestors: They, too, loved to tell ghost stories.

One of the earliest ghosts in literature appears in Homer’s *Odyssey*. Odysseus entertains King Alcinous of Phaeacia with an account of his trip to the Underworld, where he met the spirits of Greek heroes killed in the Trojan War. The dead Achilles complains that being a ghost is no fun: “I should choose, so I might live on earth, to serve as the hireling of another...rather than to be lord over all the dead.”

It was a common belief in both Eastern and Western societies that ghosts could sometimes return to right a great wrong, such as an improper burial. The idea that ghosts are intrinsically evil—the core of any good ghost story—received a boost from Plato, who believed that only wicked souls hang on after death; the good know when it’s time to let go.

Ghosts were problematic for early Christianity, which taught that sinners went straight to Hell; they weren’t supposed to be slumming it on Earth. The ghost story was dangerously close to heresy until the Church adopted the belief in Purgatory, a realm where the souls of minor sinners waited to be cleansed. The *Byland Abbey* tales, a collection of ghost stories recorded by an anonymous 15th-century English monk, suggest that the medieval Church regarded the supernatural as a useful form of advertising: Not paying the priest to say a mass for the dead could lead to a nasty case of haunting.

The ghost story reached its apogee in the early modern era with Shakespeare’s “Hamlet,” which opens with a terrified guard seeing



the ghost of the late king on the battlements of Elsinore Castle. But the rise of scientific skepticism made the genre seem old-fashioned and unsophisticated. Ghosts were notably absent from English literature until Horace Walpole, son of Britain’s first prime minister, published the supernatural mystery novel “*The Castle of Otranto*” in 1764, as a protest against the deadening effect of “reason” on art.

Washington Irving was the first American writer to take the ghost story seriously, creating the Headless Horseman in his 1820 tale “*The Legend of Sleepy Hollow*.” He was a lightweight, however, compared with Edgar Allan Poe, who turned horror into an art form. His famous 1839 story “*The Fall of the House of Usher*” heightens the tension with ambiguity: For most of the story, it isn’t clear whether Roderick Usher’s house really is haunted, or if he is merely “enchained by certain superstitious impressions.”

Henry James used a similar technique in 1895, when, unhappy with the tepid reception of his novels in the U.S., he decided to frighten Americans into liking him. The result was the psychological horror story “*The Turn of the Screw*,” about a governess who may or may not be seeing ghosts. The reviews expressed horror at the horror, with one critic describing it as “the most hopelessly evil story that we could have read in any literature.” With such universal condemnation, success was assured.



FROM TOP: ILLUSTRATION BY ZOHAR LAZAR; GETTY IMAGES

REVIEW

The pandemic, for all its devastation, has been great for the video-game industry. More people stuck at home has meant more gamers: Videogame spending in the U.S. was up 30% between April and June year over year, according to the NPD Group, a market-research firm.

It would seem like a great time to launch an ambitious new game—except for the fact that the countless engineers, coders, artists, publishers and marketers needed to put one out are also marooned at home. This and other pandemic-related hurdles threatened to compromise the June release of “Valorant,” a team-based tactical shooter game seven years in the making by Riot Games, a Los Angeles-based subsidiary of Tencent Holdings, a Chinese conglomerate. Yet the game got out on schedule, and to great acclaim, largely thanks to Anna Donlon, its executive producer. Her job is to keep all the developers, engineers and designers in sync, on track and under budget.

“Trying to organize hundreds of people toward this massive thing that’s going to launch globally on the same day during a pandemic—I don’t know that any of us knew that it was possible,” says Ms. Donlon, 46, over the phone from her home in Los Angeles. “I think most people would’ve bet against us, honestly.”

In team-based internet gaming, players from around the world come together to fight foes in fully realized virtual universes. The work that goes into confecting these landscapes can be staggering. At Riot Games, a company best known for “League of Legends,” a decade-old computer game that remains popular, Ms. Donlon sets the course for around 150 developers.

To make sure everything is humming along smoothly, Ms. Donlon used to rely on strolls through the open-plan office to “feel the energy.” She could usually sense when there was a problem, she says, and she solved most issues by getting people in a room together. But with everyone working remotely since March, she could no longer tap people on the shoulder to check the status of new character designs or the latest bug fixes. Whiteboard sessions over how to address user complaints became long, exhausting teleconferences with few body-language cues. With most recording studios shut down, getting voice-overs for characters in every language in time for launch proved impossible.

“It forced me to really think about how to stay connected with my team without having over 150 calls a week,” she says. “I learned a lot about leadership during this pandemic.” Ms. Donlon discovered early in the lockdown that the best way to

update her staff on the state of the game was through a weekly video. To liven up these broadcasts for her Zoom-fatigued colleagues, she spliced in segments of her making layer cakes and banana-cream pies, sometimes with help from her two children, who are 7 and 10. “To relieve stress, I like to bake,” Ms. Donlon explains. Her staff took to these homespun primers, and many began posting photos of their own creations. “Without those videos, I think the team would’ve struggled to feel connected to our work, connected to our colleagues,” says Dave Heironymus, technical director for “Valorant.”

In an industry renowned for its sexism, Ms. Donlon is something of a rarity. Her career, she says, has been a surprise. She loved playing videogames growing up, but she sensed

that her passion was somehow less “acceptable” for girls than for boys. She got back into gaming when she went to college at California State University, Northridge, but never saw a future in the industry. Her plan, instead, was to write novels in a cabin in the woods—“with cozy sweaters and a fireplace,” she recalls with a chuckle.

Everything changed, Ms. Donlon says, when she got a temporary job in college at a company called Knowledge Adventure, which creates educational games for elementary students. “I fell in love with it,” she says. She began by answering phones but was soon mentored by a senior female staffer to become a production coordinator. As Ms. Donlon rose through the ranks, she dropped out of college to focus on her career. (She finally completed

her creative-writing degree when she was 30.) She then sought work at a studio that made the kinds of games she liked to play.

After bouncing around at some smaller firms, Ms. Donlon moved to Treyarch Studios, a subsidiary of Activision Blizzard Inc. in Santa Monica, Calif., where she became a senior producer on “Call of Duty,” one of the biggest franchises in the business. “That felt incredible,” she says. It’s also where she met her husband, a software engineer. Now that they are both working from home for rival studios, she says, “We’ve had to hyper-NDA each other.”

The further Ms. Donlon moved into the industry’s “hard-core” games, the fewer women she would see, particularly at the top. The asymmetry could be uncomfortable—she often felt pressured to ac-

cept what she calls “locker-room behavior”—but mostly it was discouraging. “No one said, ‘You’ll never make it because you’re a woman,’” she remembers. “It just felt implied.”

Ms. Donlon has worked for the past five years at Riot Games. In 2018, two women alleged in a lawsuit that Riot Games paid them and other women less than their male counterparts, unfairly denied them promotions and subjected them to harassment in a “sexually-hostile working environment.” Riot Games agreed to settle the suit for \$10 million, but California officials concluded that

‘I learned a lot about leadership during this pandemic.’

female employees of Riot Games might deserve more than \$400 million. Joe Hixson, a Riot Games spokesperson, says the company is working toward a resolution through the courts. Ms. Donlon wasn’t accused of any wrongdoing, according to the company, and says she hopes she can be “a role model for women coming into the industry.”

Ms. Donlon has also been outspoken about the harassment that many female gamers face, and she admitted in April that she doesn’t play with strangers on “Valorant” because of the abuse or sexual propositions she gets. “If you ask most people if they’re cool with women playing videogames, they would say, ‘Why not?’ But what women encounter in games can be a different story,” she says. She is working with developers to craft better tools for punishing misconduct and encouraging good sportsmanship. “We can’t prevent people from acting out, but we can try to prevent gamers from experiencing it,” she says.

“Valorant” may be out, but Ms. Donlon is still busy tinkering with the product. She manages the designers who are freshening up the game with new agents and environments, and she oversees the engineers who are fixing the technological bugs that distort the evenness of the playing field. To better understand what gamers now want from “Valorant,” she runs surveys, scans player-behavior data and responds to gripes on Twitter.

But the game’s growing fanbase—“Valorant” appears to be poaching players and pros from the wildly popular “Fortnite”—means that the company needn’t worry about the product’s appeal and can instead focus on improving the gamer experience. “Our goal is for this game to be around for decades,” says Ms. Donlon. “That’s the dream.”



MOVING TARGETS
JOE QUEENAN

Constant clichés from TV talking heads are bad enough. Why do dentists join in?

Now Everyone Wants to Talk Like A Pundit

WHEN I WENT TO SEE my dry cleaner about getting a stain out of my favorite jacket, he said: “Make no mistake. At the end of the day, this is a very bad stain.” “I’m not making a mistake about it,” I replied, caught off guard by his ominous turn of phrase. “I know it’s a bad stain. That’s why I came to see you.” “And when would you like it back?” “Friday would be great. But if not, early next week.” “In other words, sooner rather than later,” he said. “Make no mistake,” I replied, “I would like to get my jacket back sooner rather than later. In

other words, I would like to get my jacket back ‘before’ rather than ‘after.’ Stop me if I’m going too fast.”

A few minutes later, it hit me why this normally lucid man was speaking in this absurdly hackneyed fashion. He was starting to talk like a pundit. As is widely known, there are certain phrases that are only used by journalists and politicians. Every dimwit columnist feels obliged to insert the words “make no mistake” in his or her column, in the hope that this will add an aura of gravitas to the hopeless banalities being served up.

Yet curiously, the words “Make no mistake” are almost always used in situations where no one could possibly make a mistake about what is being asserted.

“Make no mistake: China is a formidable economic adversary.” “Make no mistake: The Roll-



ing Stones are not spring chickens.”

“Make no mistake: When it rains, everyone gets wet.”

And why is it impossible to make a mistake about these things?

Because it is what it is. Pundits love the word “icon” because it makes even the most trivial thing seem of vast historical importance. A village icon. An icon of the pork-bellies futures trading community. A father, a husband, and an iconic youth soccer coach.

Sportswriters will often throw in something about “burnishing her legacy” or “continuing the legacy” because they erroneously assume that the word

“legacy” actually means something. In fact, no one alive knows what it means. It is a banality on steroids.

These phrases, though idiotic, do no long-term dam-

age so long as they are limited to what the chattering classes call “the chattering classes.” But once they leach into the patois of the streets, things can get sketchy. As I discovered recently.

“At the end of the day, do you realize that this tooth has to come out?” my dentist asked me.

“Yes, I realize it at the end of the day, at the beginning of the day and at all the other moments of the day,” I answered. “Now, would you just pull it?”

“Do you want your iconic, farm-fresh, locally grown, beet and goat cheese salad sooner rather than later?” a waitress asked.

“Either one will do,” I replied. “But I just got a tooth pulled, so

go easy on the crunchy croutons.”

“Make no mistake: That towering oak tree could smash your roof to smithereens and kill you and your wife in your sleep if you don’t pay me \$5,000 to take it down,” the tree surgeon informed me. “Do you want that as your legacy?”

“I’m definitely not going to make a mistake about that,” I fired back. “That’s why I called you.”

As long as a tsunami of road-rage cable TV gasbags were the only ones warning about a constitutional crisis posing a clear and present danger to the legacy of our icons, there was no great threat to the survival of the Republic. But once short-order cooks start saying things like, “Make no mistake, a meatball parm tastes exactly the same on a Kaiser roll as it does on a hero,” then sooner rather than later we are going to have the mother of all meltdowns. As the old saying goes: Short-order cooks are entitled to their own opinions. But they are not entitled to their own facts.



The Walker
On finding and
losing oneself in the
modern city **C12**

BOOKS

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

**Showmen, Shovels
and Glittering Prizes**
The golden age of
Egyptology **C8**



READ ONLINE AT [WSJ.COM/BOOKSHELF](https://www.wsj.com/books)

Saturday/Sunday, October 24 - 25, 2020 | **C7**

Visions of Resistance

Behind a great warrior’s battles lay his brother’s call for a pan-Native force to fight ‘those who have taken your lands.’

Tecumseh and the Prophet

By Peter Cozzens
Knopf, 537 pages, \$35

By KATHLEEN DUVAL

IN 1808, on the Wabash River—just downstream from where the Tippecanoe River flows into it—a new settlement was being built, in what is now northwestern Indiana. You could hear trees being cut down to construct houses and a 5,000-square-foot meeting house. Women were planting corn, beans and pumpkins. Founded by the Shawnee brothers Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa, this was Prophetstown.

The brothers’ houses were close to each other on Prophetstown’s southwestern edge, from which they could see the wide Wabash flowing through the prairie. And they could see pilgrims coming and going, visiting this place of hope in a dark time. A vast diversity of Native peoples—Wyandots, Ottawas, Lenapes (Delawares), Miamis, Potawatomis, Sauks—would pilgrimage to this multiethnic religious community, some staying and some returning home to spread the brothers’ universal Nativist message. As Tenskwatawa explained: The “Master of Life had taken pity on his red children,” who had been pushed around so long by white men. He “wished to save them from destruction” if they would cast aside “wealth and ornaments,” whisky and other trappings of “evil and unclean” white Americans and band together against those who “have taken your lands, which were not made for them.”

In “Tecumseh and the Prophet: The Shawnee Brothers Who Defied a Nation,” Peter Cozzens tells the intertwined history of the brothers Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa and makes the important argument that, without Tenskwatawa—who was known as “the prophet” for his spiritual visions and prophecies—“there would have been no Tecumseh.”

In most biographies and popular versions of this history, the famous warrior Tecumseh, who led a pan-Native force against the United States in the War of 1812, stands alone—exactly the opposite of his mission in life. As Mr. Cozzens shows, the brothers sought to bring together all Native Americans under Tenskwatawa’s teachings, persuading them to cast aside their political, cultural and religious differences to become one mighty race.

While the Master of Life spoke to the prophet Tenskwatawa, Tecumseh traveled throughout the eastern half of North America to spread the word, from Creek and Choctaw towns in the deep South to the Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) nations in the Northeast, and across the Mississippi River to the Quapaws, the powerful Osages and bands of the brothers’ own Shawnee people who had already moved west. Everywhere, Tecumseh preached Ten-



VISIONARY Early 19th-century watercolor portrait of Tenskwatawa by George Catlin.

skwatawa’s prophecies and readied men for battle against the United States.

The author of many books on the Civil War, Mr. Cozzens puts his narrative skills to great use. His compelling prose and deep research in both primary sources and histories of the period combine to place the reader on the ground with the Shawnee brothers. He clearly explains the complicated geography and history of this contested place and time, when both U.S. and Native American individuals, families and whole towns often picked up and moved. Readers come to understand the brothers and their followers within the larger religious, political and military context, including the history of U.S. expansion and the War of 1812.

The book’s sharply drawn characters go beyond the central figures of Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa. One of their greatest influences was their older brother Cheeseekau, killed in 1792 fighting against Tennessee settle-

ments alongside Cherokees and Creeks. Their Shawnee opponent, Chief Black Hoof, believed Tenskwatawa’s call for pan-Indian resistance, instead of Shawnee-directed diplomacy, was madness. The great Miami war leader Little Turtle defeated U.S. forces in the 1790s, but by the time of Tenskwatawa’s movement he believed that compromise with the United States was the only path. As governor of the Indiana Territory, William Henry Harrison was impressed by Tecumseh’s rhetorical and martial skills and frightened by his popularity. Harrison later would win the U.S. presidency as “Old Tippecanoe,” famed for defeating Tecumseh.

“Tecumseh and the Prophet” follows the youth of both boys through the rise of their movement and their great success in spreading it across mid-America. Taking advantage of the War of 1812, they allied with the British and won victories against the United States. Yet with Tecumseh’s death at the Battle of the Thames, on

the northern shore of Lake Erie in October 1813, and the British decision to end the war, the movement fell apart. Tenskwatawa eventually moved west across the Mississippi River with other Shawnees. Sometimes it is harder to be the one who survives than the hero who dies.

Mr. Cozzens astutely notes that white Americans’ fascination with Tecumseh comes from a belief that, as a political and military leader, he “acted as *they* would have acted under similar circumstances”—a belief that underestimates both Tecumseh’s deep faith in his brother’s prophecies and the no-win situation that faced Native Americans on the borders of the expanding 19th-century United States. In contrast, Mr. Cozzens observes, Tenskwatawa, an “ex-alcoholic who as a boy had accidentally shot his right eye out with an arrow,” has faded in the memory of white Americans, along with his harder-to-say name. Yet Tecumseh’s organizational and military

actions were fueled by Tenskwatawa’s visions, and the brothers won converts by preaching together about the same Native past, present and future.

Nothing in Mr. Cozzens’s book will surprise historians. Those of us who study and teach about this time and place already know that the movement was a religious as much as military one, and that it built on past Nativist movements, such as that of the Lenape prophet Neolin and the Ottawa war leader Pontiac in the 1760s, who also called for all Native Americans to see themselves as one race and form a united military front. Pathbreaking work by historians R. David Edmunds and Gregory E. Dowd in the 1980s and 1990s established the fundamental religious underpinning of Tecumseh’s movement and those of other Nativist leaders. Mr. Cozzens’s prodigious end-notes credit these histories, although at times he skates a bit close to the

Tecumseh sought to bring Native Americans under Tenskwatawa’s prophecies and become one mighty, unified race.

work of others. His chapter structure resembles that of John Sugden’s magisterial “Tecumseh: A Life” (1998), which, although its title mentions only Tecumseh, credits Tenskwatawa as a crucial partner and the founder of their movement. Just as without Tenskwatawa there would have been no Tecumseh, without Mr. Sugden’s “Tecumseh: A Life” there would be no “Tecumseh and the Prophet.”

Like many biographies, “Tecumseh and the Prophet” ends anti-climatically, with the death of Tenskwatawa in the 1830s and the perspective of the unimpressed white physician who attended him. But Shawnees didn’t die with Tenskwatawa, and they didn’t merge their Shawnee identity with other Native nations as he said they should. Over 10,000 people today are citizens of the Shawnee tribes. The Shawnee Tribe Cultural Center in Miami, Okla., is next to the Inter Tribal Council building, which they share with the Wyandotte Nation, the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma, and the Ottawa Tribe of Oklahoma—members of which joined the Shawnee brothers’ movement but, like the Shawnees, didn’t give up their separate identities. The diverse Native peoples that Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa attempted to meld live on today, despite the efforts of both the United States to destroy them and the Shawnee brothers to make them one.

Ms. DuVal, a professor at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, is the author of “Independence Lost: Lives on the Edge of the American Revolution.”

Teddy Kennedy’s Odyssey

Catching the Wind

By Neal Gabler
Crown, 887 pages, \$40

By EDWARD KOSNER

EDWARD KENNEDY is one of those “not quite” figures in America’s past, men of real significance in their time—Henry Clay, William Jennings Bryan, Adlai Stevenson, Nelson Rockefeller—who never could capture the ultimate prize. History tends to reward most of them with a generous last hurrah if not a reprise of “Hail to the Chief.”

Kennedy died of a brain tumor at 77 in 2009 after serving in the U.S. Senate longer than all but three other men. Over nearly 47 years he was a prodigious legislator who proposed no fewer than 2,500 bills and saw almost 700 of them enacted into law. Liberals hailed him as their Lion of the Senate. Yet today, his legacy must contend with those awkward or grotesque episodes that cast a shadow over his manifest accomplishments.

Mention Teddy Kennedy and people are likely to remember not only his eloquent 1968 eulogy for his murdered brother Robert but also his being expelled from Harvard for cheating on a Spanish exam; the Chappaquiddick disaster; his mumbly inability to tell Roger Mudd why he wanted to be president in that ineradicable 1979 TV interview; and his drunken carousing with his nephew William Kennedy Smith in Palm Beach, Fla., before Mr. Smith was accused—though later acquitted—of raping a young woman.

Now Kennedy is the subject of a new biography by Neal Gabler, the adroit chronicler of Walter Winchell,

In this warts-and-all hagiography, the senator’s triumphs on Capitol Hill are cataloged, as are his many personal failures.

Walt Disney and other 20th-century American icons. To call Mr. Gabler’s “Catching the Wind: Edward Kennedy and the Liberal Hour” monumental would be to insult the pyramids. Still, the book logs in at 736 pages plus back matter, and it’s only the first volume of a projected two-part work. That’s quite a bit shorter than Robert Caro’s Lyndon Johnson pentalogy, but then Teddy was no LBJ.

There are already more than a dozen Kennedy biographies, plus his posthumous memoir “True Compass” (2009) and many other books in which he figures prominently. Even so, Mr. Gabler promises that the Ted Kennedy who emerges from his book won’t be “an altogether familiar one.” To a degree this is true. The rich narrative is studded with tasty factoids—Ted and Robert Kennedy called each other “Robbie” and “Eddie”—and lively quotes, anecdotes and vignettes. The Kennedy of “Catching the Wind” may not be all that new, but there’s certainly a lot of him.

This can be a maddening book, especially if you have reservations about Ted Kennedy’s glory. In prodigious—often stupefying—detail, it follows Ted from his birth during the Depression to 1975, the year after Richard Nixon resigned and Kennedy, for the third time, backed away from running for president as anti-school busing mobs rampaged through Boston. All the liberal triumphs on Capitol Hill are here, the leadership on big issues from civil rights to health care to Vietnam—and all the failures, too, many self-inflicted.

Mr. Gabler can be hagiographic about Teddy Kennedy as the avatar of doomed late-stage liberalism in Amer-



BETTMANN ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

LEGACY Sen. Edward Kennedy at the grave of President John F. Kennedy on Nov. 22, 1971.

ica, a tragic hero who mastered his destructive impulses to carry the flame. “He had lived long enough,” the author writes, “to fail, to sin, to stumble, to fall and fall out of favor. He had been publicly abased . . . and forced to ask for forgiveness. To his fiercest detractors, these missteps were unforgivable, though how much of their implacability was politics in the conservative gale and how much morality is impossible to say. But to those who loved him, these flaws were intrinsic to that love.”

He has a simple theory: Teddy was the helpless victim of family dysfunc-

tion—the youngest of nine children in a gilded household ruled by Joseph and Rose Kennedy. They are depicted as monstrous parents determined to raise an aesthetically perfect brood, some of whom would reach the pinnacle of American society and power as a rebuke to the WASP establishment that lorded it over the Irish-Catholic Kennedys and their kinsmen.

Kennedy was named for Eddie Moore, a longtime family factotum (and sometime procurer for Joe). In many ways the least gifted of the Kennedys’ four sons, Eddie grew up gut-sure of his inadequacy compared to Joe Jr., John and Robert. The philanthropic patriarch preached family first but was away most of the time and still dictated his children’s lives. “I don’t want any sourpusses around here,” he’d thunder. Rose, acting oblivious to his infidelities, compulsively flitted from Cape Cod to Palm Beach to Europe, plopping her youngest into one school after another. The boy found his place in the family hierarchy as the chubby charmer forever in trouble.

The Kennedys nurtured Teddy in their way. Despite his academic deficits, they got him into prep school at Milton Academy and sent him on grand tours of Europe en route to Harvard, where he majored in football

Please turn to page C8

BOOKS

‘A single column from Karnak is more of a monument on its own than all four façades of the courtyard of the Louvre.’ —JEAN-FRANÇOIS CHAMPOLLION, 1829

Plunder and Prod

A World Beneath the Sands

By Toby Wilkinson
Norton, 510 pages, \$30

By DOMINIC GREEN

IN THE 19TH CENTURY, Egyptomania raged first across Europe, then the United States, eventually infecting the Egyptians themselves. Its symptoms included the development of comparative linguistics; delusions of imperial grandeur; the destructive application of dynamite, bribes and forced labor; and the rediscovery of the lost history of the pharaohs.

“A World Beneath the Sands: The Golden Age of Egyptology” is the dramatic, detailed and eccentric-packed story of the century between the decoding of the Rosetta Stone in 1822 and the discovery of Tutankhamun’s tomb in 1922. It was a golden age for grave robbers but also for scholarship, for it was in Egypt that the methods of modern archaeology were developed. A golden age for empires, too: The British and French, and then the Germans and Americans, carted off Egypt’s monuments to their capitals as the Greeks and Romans had done before them. But, as Toby Wilkinson shows, the discovery of lost monuments, grave goods and mummified corpses also stimulated the emergence of their true inheritors, the modern Egyptian nation.

As Napoleon’s troops were defeating the Mamluk rulers of Egypt at the Battle of the Pyramids in 1798, his “army of experts” set about building a modern state. Though Napoleon rapidly lost the military advantage to Britain, his “savants” gave France an enduring cultural victory. Egypt’s new ruler, the Albanian warlord Muhammad Ali, had imperial plans of his own, and used fragments of pharaonic stone as “bargaining chips” to set Britain and France against each other. Soon, two rival armies of native labor were ransacking ancient sites.

Enter the Italian weightlifter and amateur archaeologist Giovanni Belzoni, stage name “the French Hercules.” Belzoni convinced one of Ali’s advisers that his knowledge of theatrical hydraulics made him a suitable overseer of Egypt’s irrigation networks. In 1816, Belzoni retrieved a colossal bust from the sands west of Thebes and sent it to the British Museum. Reports of the “Young Memnon,” and the massive torso that was found nearby, inspired Shelley’s “Ozymandias.”

Then came Jean-François Champollion to defend the honor of France. In 1822, he deciphered the hieroglyphics on the Rosetta Stone. At a stroke, Mr. Wilkinson tells us, Champollion lifted “the civilization of the pharaohs out of the shadows of mythology and into the light of history.” But did Champollion lift it alone? The English amateur linguist Thomas Young had made similar deductions. But, being a gentleman, Young published anonymously. He did, however, make some ungentlemanly observations about Champollion.

The Louvre now held Europe’s best Egyptian collection, organized by Champollion’s pioneering chronology. Meanwhile, in Egypt, modernization wrecked the archaeological record. The Egyptians smashed monuments to feed lime kilns and used ancient mud bricks as fertilizer. Ali encouraged his engineers to use stones from the Giza pyramids to build dams across the Nile. Between 1810 and 1828, 13 temples were destroyed by what George Gliddon,



EGYPTOMANIA ‘The Great Temple of Abu Simbel, Nubia,’ a 19th-century watercolor by David Roberts.

the American consul in Cairo, called “avarice, wantonness, and negligence.”

Many of the archaeologists were little better. In 1837, Maj. Richard Vyse of the British army, intent on proving the Bible, drilled a metal rod 27 feet into the rear of the Sphinx, then blasted his way into various pyramids with dynamite. But others were more conscientious—and none more so than Karl Richard Lepsius of Prussia.

The 19th-century discovery of ancient artifacts in the Nile Valley also brought forth the modern Egyptian nation.

Lepsius proved the existence of the Old Kingdom and its dynastic chronologies. He pushed back the origin date of Egyptian civilization by a millennium, locating its birth not in India or Ethiopia, as some contemporaries believed, but in the Nile Valley. He exposed the hiatus of the Amarna period, in which Egyptian religion, art and architecture changed under the “heretic pharaoh” Akhenaten, and clarified the epochs of Egyptian art by identifying each era with its rules of proportion.

Lepsius returned to Prussia in 1846 with 15,000 antiquities—Berlin’s museum now challenged the British Museum and the Louvre—and the material for his 12-volume “Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien.” Though Lepsius made “the last major expedition to Egypt before the advent of photography,” Mr. Wilkinson relates, his data-driven methods marked the end of the heroic age. Egyptology was now “an independent, scientific discipline,” distinct from classical antiquity and the Bible.

With the Prussians in Egypt and Napoleon’s nephew Louis-Napoleon on his way to the throne in Paris, in 1850 Auguste Mariette of the Louvre set out to discover the Serapeum, the monument to the god Serapis. The Memphite necropolis covered 30 miles of desert and was dotted with pyramids and tombs, many submerged under sand dunes. Working secretly at night, Mariette dug the longest, deepest trench yet, pulled his needle from the dunes and smuggled 230 crates of antiquities out of Egypt. The Louvre was back on top.

Mr. Wilkinson, the author of “The Rise and Fall of Ancient Egypt” and a professor of Egyptology at the University of Lincoln, calls the Serapeum “the first great archaeological discovery in the history of Egyptology.” It sparked a further wave of Egyptomania. The 10th Duke of Hamilton decided that he would be mummified before joining his ancestors in the family crypt. The Prince of Pückler-Muskau created an earthen pyramid on his estate as his last resting place. The ordinary public bought tickets to see mummies unwrapped.

In 1875 Ali’s heirs went bankrupt. Britain and France soon took over Egypt’s finances. A nationalist revolt in 1882 led to a British invasion and a “veiled protectorate” under the supervision of Evelyn Baring, known for his imperious manner as “over-Baring.” Mariette became director of Egypt’s first national museum. The balance was beginning to shift from excavation and export to preserving and protecting Egypt’s heritage, though traditionalist popularizers like E.A. Wallis Budge of the British Museum carried on bribing and smuggling.

When Baring abolished forced labor, he raised the cost of digging. The English ascetic Flinders Petrie, who in 1888 discovered the exquisite Greco-Egyptian portrait heads at Fayum, trimmed his budget. He lived on

tinned food, was “as odiferous as a polecat,” and reveled in the dirt and danger: “Working in the dark for much of the time, stripped naked, and in filthy brackish water,” he wrote, “you collide with floating coffins or some skulls that go bobbing around.” He also developed the academic method of stratigraphy, documentation and digging economically rather than making massive clearances.

The American James Henry Breasted, meanwhile, took advantage of the philanthropy of John D. Rockefeller. In 1906 Breasted created the “Chicago method,” collating and correcting inscriptions from existing photographs. He also democratized museum holdings by copying and publishing all of the surviving “coffin texts,” or inscriptions written on ancient Egyptian coffins, in the Egyptian Museum and in museums across Europe. His fellow American Theodore Davis may have done more to bring Egyptology into the modern age. After he discovered in 1905 the magnificent gold-rich sepulchre created by King Amenhotep III for his parents-in-law, Davis declined his share of the finds. The entire haul went to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.

Davis discovered 18 tombs in the Valley of the Kings, and by the mid-1900s was “the most famous Egyptologist in the world.” But in November 1922, Howard Carter and Lord Carnarvon, working a mere 6 feet from where Davis’s excavation had stopped, came upon the greatest discovery ever made in the Nile Valley: the tomb of Tutankhamun. Above ground, modern Egypt had declared its independence earlier that year. The Egyptian Museum would continue to have a French director until the revolution of 1952, but Egypt’s past now belonged to the Egyptians of the future.

Mr. Green is deputy editor of the Spectator (U.S.).

Teddy Kennedy’s Liberal Hour

Continued from page C7

until he was expelled in his sophomore year. As penance, he joined the Army—the first of his many lunges at redemption. Joe made sure that Teddy wasn’t put in harm’s way but assigned to a ceremonial unit in Versailles with weekends in Paris. Harvard readmitted him, and when he didn’t make the cut at Harvard Law School, a spot was found at the University of Virginia. There, as Mr. Gabler tells it, Kennedy defied the perpetual low expectations for his performance by winning the moot-court competition.

With a law degree but no prospects, Ted was installed as a junior prosecutor in Boston, but his real job was working for his brother, John the senator, during his campaigns for the 1960 Democratic presidential nomination and then against Richard Nixon. The next step was inevitable—running with no record in 1962 for JFK’s vacated seat in Massachusetts. This was the infamous primary race against Eddie McCormack, whose uncle was Speaker of the House. At their first debate, McCormack looked over at Kennedy and sneered, truthfully enough: “If [your] name was Edward Moore, your candi-

dacy would be a joke.” Ted won anyway—with stealth help from his brother in the Oval Office.

The meat of this first volume is Kennedy’s first 13 years in the Senate and his flirtation with running for president in 1968, ’72, and ’76. The author divides Kennedy’s early Senate career into four phases: his rookie season; his return after the 1964 small-plane crash that almost killed him; his re-emergence after the 1968 assassination of Robert Kennedy that, in Mr. Gabler’s telling, permanently traumatized him; and his initially diminished role after Chappaquiddick a year later.

At first, Teddy played the humble freshman, holding his tongue at Jack’s old desk in the back row of the chamber and assiduously sucking up to the aging Senate bulls who ruled the club, many of them arch-segregationists like James Eastland of Mississippi. Eager and deferential, he charmed them as he had his parents and older siblings as a child. He turned serious after the six-month convalescence from his plane-crash injuries. Determined to bolster his civil-rights credentials, Kennedy fought a doomed effort for an anti-poll tax amendment to the 1965 Voting Rights Act against the strategic designs of now-President Lyndon Johnson and other backers of the legislation. Later, honoring a commitment to his grief-stricken father, Teddy called in every available chit to elevate a glaringly unqualified Boston hack named Francis X. Morrissey to the federal bench. “He was fighting,” Mr. Ga-

bler rationalizes, “for all those who had suffered the same indignities, including himself.” Both of these losing fights actually bolstered Kennedy’s standing in the Senate, he claims.

Almost catatonic after RFK’s murder, he didn’t return to the Senate for months, then ran for party whip, an unglamorous post that he energized into a leadership role fit for a bull. Chappaquiddick stripped him of any moral authority and clout he’d accumulated, but he persevered to re-emerge as a leader of the end-the-war drive and the effort to force Nixon from office over Watergate. Indeed, Mr. Gabler makes the case that Nixon so feared a Kennedy run in 1972 that dirty tricks against Ted were integral to his Watergate designs.

One sure test of any Ted Kennedy biography is its treatment of the episode one midnight in July 1969, when the senator drove his car off a narrow wooden bridge near midnight on tiny Chappaquiddick Island, off Martha’s Vineyard. Kennedy escaped with his life but failed to rescue his companion, 28-year-old Mary Jo Kopechne, a former Bobby Kennedy staffer. Mr. Gabler devotes a hyperdetailed 54-page chapter to what he calls the “tragic accident” and its aftermath, and it’s exemplary of his approach to his subject.

Why did Kennedy turn off the main paved road to the ferry and bounce down a dirt road that led over Dike Bridge to the beach? He admitted having had a couple of drinks at the re-

union party with Mary Jo and other young women, but insisted that he’d simply made a wrong turn and didn’t see the bridge in the headlights until it was too late. I was vacationing on the Vineyard later that summer and retraced his path. The road to the ferry was not only paved, it banked at the turn. When, as Kennedy had, I veered right, my car thunked as the tires slid off the canted main road. The dirt road

He had failed, stumbled, fallen, writes Gabler. ‘But to those who loved him, [his] flaws were intrinsic to that love.’

was so corrugated that even traveling under 20 mph, as Teddy said he had, my car bucked and jolted. No driver could fail to recognize that he’d blundered onto the wrong path to the ferry.

Mr. Gabler gives the full account of Kennedy’s sketchy behavior after the crash, the mournful speech to the nation cobbled up for him by Ted Sorensen and others, and the various investigations of the young woman’s death. He claims there was “nothing whatsoever to undermine Ted Kennedy’s credibility” though the judge at the inquest ruled that Kennedy hadn’t told the whole story. And he blames the press for calling Chappaquiddick “an example of Ted Kennedy’s ir-

responsibility”—which is precisely what it was—and not “another Kennedy tragedy.”

Deep in the book, Mr. Gabler gets around to Kennedy’s other reckless behavior—his bouts of heavy drinking and especially his philandering, another family legacy. His wife Joan’s alcoholism has been traced by many to her husband’s indiscreet cheating. She picked up the phone once and heard him talking to an old and continuing love, a blond jewelry designer in Palm Beach. He was rumored to have had affairs with countless others, so it was said, including Candice Bergen, Margaret Trudeau (the wild-child wife of the Canadian prime minister) and a “stunning” New York socialite.

That Ted Kennedy acted as a moral force in politics is central to the author’s argument that his career embodied the arc of liberalism in America—from the legacy of the New Deal through his brother Jack’s New Frontier, LBJ’s Great Society, brother Bobby’s civil-rights and antiwar crusades, and Ted’s own fight for Medicare for All. In this reading, Nixon led the reaction that culminated in the Reagan Revolution—and, by implication, the Age of Trump. But, as “Catching the Wind” documents more fully than ever, Edward Moore Kennedy, whatever his virtues, was always a fragile vessel for those dreams.

Mr. Kosner was the editor of Newsweek, New York, Esquire and the New York Daily News.

BOOKS

‘It is in his knowledge that man has found his greatness...and consequently no ignorance is without loss to him, no error without evil.’ –JAMES SMITHSON

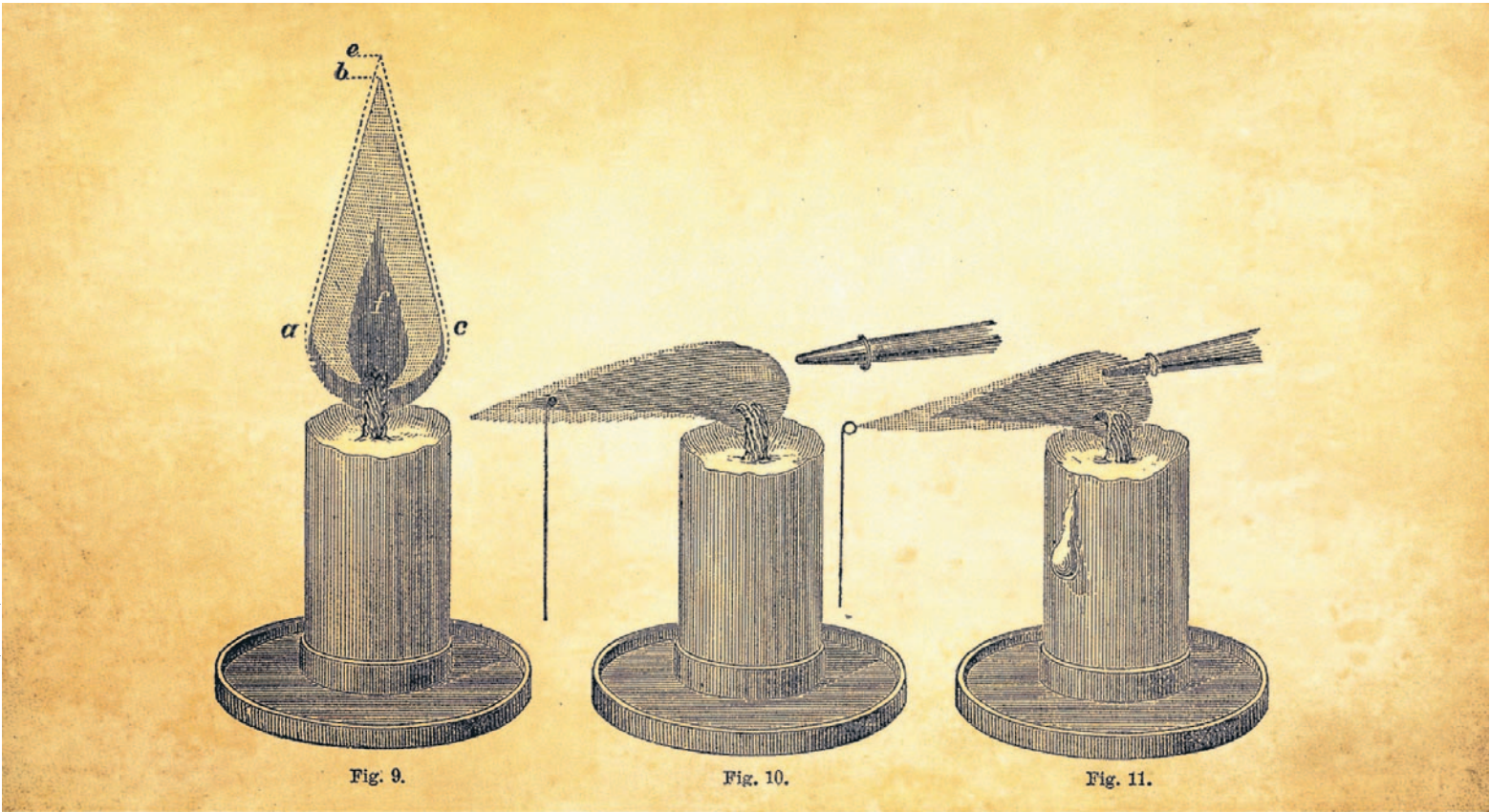
Smithsonian Science

The Science of James Smithson
By Steven Turner
Smithsonian, 296 pages, \$29.95

By Christoph Irmscher

SOMETIME IN THE summer of 1835, Henry Hungerford, who preferred to be known as the Baron de la Batut, died where his uncle, James Smithson, had died too, in Italy, the unspectacular ending of a brief life dedicated solely to the pursuit of pleasure. Counterfactual speculations are rarely revelatory, but just ponder this for a moment: If the pretend baron had been less of a wastrel, there would have been no Smithsonian Institution, no National Museum of American History, no Smithsonian magazine. And there wouldn't have been a book like Steven Turner's "The Science of James Smithson: Discoveries From the Smithsonian Founder." But Hungerford obligingly left no children, and so the vast fortune he inherited from his uncle went to the United States, "to found at Washington, under the name of the Smithsonian Institution, an establishment for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men." For this was what Smithson, who had never set foot on American soil, had stipulated in his will.

The reasons for Smithson's somewhat accidental bequest have puzzled American historians, as has the donor himself. Like his dissolute nephew, Smithson was an illegitimate child, the son of Hugh Smithson (later Hugh Percy), the first Duke of Northumberland, who never acknowledged him, and Elizabeth Hungerford Keate Macie, the lady of the manor at Weston House near Bath, who had a knack for holding on to her inherited wealth even as she lost a series of lovers and husbands. Throughout James Smithson's life, his illegitimacy lingered like a bad stain that nothing could wash away. He wasn't even reliably British. Born Jacques Louis Smithson in Paris in 1764 or 1765, his peripatetic childhood ended when he was dispatched to London at age 8. As a naturalized citizen, he was barred from a career in the military or the church. Educated at Pembroke College, Oxford, Smithson found a way out: Cushioned by his mother's money and his own shrewd investments, he became a widely respected mineralogist,



FANNING FLAMES Above, a diagram explaining the 'blowpipe analysis' of minerals. Below, an 1816 portrait of James Smithson by Henri-Joseph Johns.

with, as Mr. Turner shows, serious interests in multiple other areas, from plant chemistry to the paint used in Egyptian murals.

Although he published close to 30 articles in leading journals, Smithson's scientific efforts have often been viewed as mere dabbling, busywork with little impact. Not so, exclaims Mr. Turner, a retired curator of physical sciences at the Smithsonian National Museum of American History. To rectify the record, the author recreates, down to the smallest detail, the experiments Smithson had conducted and written about, using the tools he would have used. The result is a quirky, oddly touching book that allows us to step, for a few moments, inside the world of a practicing Enlightenment scientist, to sit beside him as he fans the flames of a candle with his little blowpipe, waiting for that small mineral in front of him to melt and yield its secrets.

Equipped with an extraordinary talent for presenting complex scientific facts lucidly, Mr. Turner revives more than a dozen of Smithson's experiments, from the very first one, in which Smithson analyzed tabasheer, the white mineral substance made of water and silica found inside the joints

of bamboo plants, to a later test for the presence of arsenic that remained in use for decades. The most consequential of Smithson's projects—the analysis of an ore of zinc then known as calamine—led to the discovery of a new mineral, zinc carbonate, later named after him ("Smithsonite"). Chemistry wasn't idle play for Smithson. In the conclusion of his calamine article he finds the composition of his rock sample reflective of larger, grander truths, though he doesn't spell them out. "A certain knowledge of the exact proportions of the constituent principles of bodies," he wrote, might "open to our view . . . general laws, etc. which at present totally escape us."

But this is how things always seemed to go with the redoubtable Smithson: He'd knock on the door of some great insight (in this case, the inklings of atomic theory) but never actually dare open it. Contemporaries reported that he was quite the gambling man. Yet in his science he left little to chance. Here, among his rock samples, Smithson found relief from the murkiness of his descent; here, the only limits he would bump up against were those imposed by himself, his knowledge, persistence and skill.

Or so he hoped. But consider what happened when Smithson thought he had identified certain "vegetable principles" ("chromophores," in modern scientific parlance) that make flowers change colors as they mature: Blue became red, he argued, because some blue coloring matter had interacted with an acid. Eager to share these principles with his peers, Smithson picked some fancy names for them. One was Ajax, honoring the

Greek warrior from whose blood were supposed to have sprung violets when he killed himself—at least according to the poet Edward Young ("The Instalment," 1726). But the editor of the Royal Society's journal Philosophical Transactions wasn't having any of that and drew a big X through the corresponding passage in Smithson's manuscript, erasing Smithson's definition of the principle along with the literary allusions. Stripped of the fervor of discovery, Smithson's article became, in Mr. Turner's blunt assessment, a pointless "collection of facts."

Smithson many times came close to greatness as a mineralogist. He could also brew a decent cup of coffee.

Smithson never submitted anything to Philosophical Transactions again and soon after departed for France. There at least he was free to be, as he signed his letters, the *Seigneur Anglais*—the English lord.

It is tempting to imagine what would have happened to the field if the Philosophical Transactions editor had held his ink and terms like Ajax, or Pyramus and Thisbe (another one of Smithson's deleted "principles"), had taken off. Yet as devoutly as Smithson had hoped that his experiments would disclose to him a perfect world governed by foresight and design, a universe in which he, too, would have been allowed to assume his proper sta-

tion, happenstance, in the end, tended to win the day. And even Mr. Turner's meticulous reconstructions cannot dispel the sense that, whatever he tackled, James Smithson inevitably missed greatness by a matter of inches.

He had, to be sure, his priorities straight in other ways. Lacking access to Smithson's blowpipe and minerals, I felt motivated to replicate his instructions for brewing a better cup of coffee, one that would taste good even during travel. Following Mr. Turner's summary, I placed a sealed glass bottle containing the grounds and water in a boiling pot and then strained the mix through a paper filter. I am happy to report that the result was, indeed, fragrant, strong and hot—no mean feat at a time when, as Mr. Turner points out, most folks took their java weak and flavorless, with clumps of powder floating in the brackish liquid.

Smithson's life, perhaps the strangest of his experiments, ended on June 27, 1829, in Genoa. Almost two decades later, the displaced nobleman-turned-mineralogist achieved his posthumous, unanticipated apotheosis when Congress finally agreed on a plan for his 105 sacks of gold. Beginning in 1847, the Smithsonian Institution Building rose on Washington's Mall, a red sandstone structure constructed in the Norman style, looking as appealingly eccentric today among all that white marble as Smithson does in the annals of the history of science. Though he had not asked for it, the Seigneur Anglais had, at long last, gotten his castle.

Mr. Irmscher is the director of the Wells Scholars Program at Indiana University.

Finding Paradise Everywhere

Nature Matrix
By Robert Michael Pyle
Counterpoint, 264 pages, \$16.95

By Danny Heitman

IN THE TITLE ESSAY of "Nature Matrix," Robert Michael Pyle's new collection of non-fiction pieces, he stresses that humans dwell within a rich network of connections—a matrix—that includes many other forms of earthly life. It's a basic though easily overlooked truth, one that Mr. Pyle, a biologist who's also written fiction and poetry along with books about butterflies, consistently affirms.

Perhaps nowhere is that more evident than in one of this collection's essays, "Secrets of the Talking Leaf," in which the pages of books—"talking leaves"—are revealed as part of, not apart from, the world of trees and moths, worms and other wild things. In Mr. Pyle's mind—informed, it seems, with the same beguiling mix of field research and deep learning that made the late Janet Lembke's essays so memorable—disciplines as disparate as lepidopterology and literature keep easy company. Here, for example, he explains how many butterflies were named:

Because early lepidopterists frequently boasted classical educa-

tions, they felt compelled to use them. So it is that the names of so many swallowtails commemorate heroes of the Trojan Wars, while arctic fritillaries bear the names of Norse goddesses and their more southerly cousins embody mythic figures such as Cybele, Aphrodite, Astarte, and Hippolyta. From the number of fauns, satyrs, nymphs, and other Greek and Roman rustic deities found among butterfly checklists, you could be forgiven for thinking that these insects live a constant bacchanal of drinking and mating—though that is, in fact, the case.

In another essay, "Eden in a Vacant Lot," Mr. Pyle recalls that he became interested in other species as a boy, when he often walked along the High Line Canal in Denver, Colo., which he describes as "a historic irrigation ditch." For the young Mr. Pyle, it was heaven. "Its tangled growth and sinuous path made the perfect getaway from the raw young suburb," he tells readers.

In such unassuming places, many of us got our first taste of the natural world, he points out. "It is my premise here that nothing is less empty to a curious, exploring child than a vacant lot, nothing less wasted than waste ground, nothing more richly simmered in promise than raw land," Mr. Pyle writes.

Mr. Pyle, now in his 70s, is in some sense still the boy who once scanned the banks of his ditch for "orioles, flickers, kestrels, and kingbirds." Decades later, he retains the habit of noticing nature wherever he can find it, often on college campuses where he's taught. He remembers reviewing a

student paper on a winter day at Utah State University—or at least trying to. "In a leaf-stripped hawthorn outside my window, a great flock of cedar waxwings had appeared. For the next hour," he confesses, "until the early darkness blotted both the snowfall and the birds, I got nothing done."

At their best, Mr. Pyle's essays are an invitation to surprise. Hiking his



SKINNY VICARS Double-crested cormorants near Sanibel Island, Fla.

home state of Washington, he notices that "cormorants clung to rotting pilings like so many skinny vicars." He recalls that as a student at the University of Washington, mulling the troubled politics of the Vietnam War, he "sought the infinite sanity of the evening grosbeaks thronging the elms in front of old Denny Hall."

Such an eye suits Mr. Pyle's work as a nature writer, a term he dismisses as redundant: "This is because I know of nothing—not one thing—one can write about that is not a part of the environment, a part of nature."

To prove his point, Mr. Pyle undertakes a sometimes tedious deconstruction of "Bright Lights, Big City,"

Jay McInerney's Manhattan-set novel, listing its cursory references to plants and animals to support its nomination as "a classic nature book." Distinctions between "nature" and the rest of the world are illusory, Mr. Pyle suggests, since humans and their handiwork are also part of nature, which would make anything, even a nuclear bomb, "natural."

Presumably, refining such details is something that Mr. Pyle will ask younger minds to figure out. Many of the essays strike a valedictory note, passing advice and obligations from one generation to the next, as in "Secrets of the Talking Leaf," which champions the continuing relevance of traditional books in a society increasingly defined by digital technology. The pages of printed books offer "something *real*," he writes, "a physical object in a way that evanescent

A nature writer's ode to the beauty all around us extends to the world on the page and in the mind.

images on a screen can never be . . . fondling a physical book is like taking a walk: it is a sensory oasis."

In this way, as Mr. Pyle sees it, reading links the mind and the tangible universe. "Live directly," he urges writers. "Allow your knowledge, sensation, response, and experience to draw acutely from the physical surfaces of things, and then dive deeper. . . . Every day, come to your senses—use every one of them at every opportunity."

The finest of these essays eloquently advance that ideal, revealing a writer who has, in many ways over a long career, fulfilled it.

Mr. Heitman is the editor of Phi Kappa Phi's Forum magazine and a columnist for the Advocate newspaper in Louisiana.

BOOKS

‘Life is so constructed that the event does not, cannot, will not, match the expectation.’ —CHARLOTTE BRONTË, ‘VILLETTE’



FIVE BEST ON DISAPPOINTMENT

Cressida Connolly

The author, most recently, of the novel ‘After the Party’

Mrs. Bridge

By Evan S. Connell (1959)

This small masterpiece takes as its epigraph a Walt Whitman line: “But where is what I started for so long ago? / And why is it yet unfound?” The word “disappointment” first appears on page 9 of the book, but by then the reader is already well primed for it. Even earlier, Mrs. Bridge becomes aware that “while marriage might be an equitable affair, love itself was not,” when her husband fails to respond to her desire. It is to be the first of many occasions where hope meets reality and is thwarted. Mannerly, fastidious Mrs. Bridge often finds herself “unaccountably on the verge of tears.” The genius of the novel is in its sly mixture of the particulars of family life in midcentury Kansas City, Mo., with wider societal change. Composed—like memory itself—as a series of vignettes, “Mrs. Bridge” is quaint and bleakly funny. Pathos dances with comedy to create a vivid portrait of a life not quite lived.



RALPH CRANE/THE LIFE PICTURE COLLECTION/GETTY IMAGES

BRIDGE TO NOWHERE Evan S. Connell

Gooseberries

By Anton Chekhov (1898)

Nikolai has scrimped his whole life to buy a country farm where he can retire to grow fruit. The abundance of the harvest makes him as happy as he always hoped it would, but to his brother Ivan, the sight of Nikolai’s joy is a terrible thing. World-weary Ivan sees only futility in his brother’s simple pleasure: “There ought to be behind the door of every happy, contented man someone standing with a hammer continually reminding him with a tap that there are unhappy people,” proposes Ivan. “Gooseberries” is the literary equivalent of that hammer blow. Chekhov did not require the larger canvas of war, revolution, crime or punishment to illustrate the folly of being human: A bowl of fruit would do.

Redhead by the Side of the Road

By Anne Tyler (2020)

When Anne Tyler presents a male character who is set in his ways, you know she’s about to introduce some gentle chaos into his life. Micah Mortimer is quiet, unambitious and orderly, the type of man who designates one evening for cleaning the countertops, another for doing the laundry. Having established this still pond, Ms. Tyler commences to throw pebbles into it. The unexpected reappearance of Micah’s first girlfriend causes in him “a kind of stabbing sensation . . . he looked across at the pantsuited city lawyer and very nearly asked, ‘Lorna? Is that you in there?’ What he didn’t expect was how sad it made him.” The novel asks whether different decisions, other paths could have brought

Micah more happiness. If the answer is equivocal, it’s also true to life. Yet there is quiet redemption here: Ms. Tyler is a writer with too much heart to allow disappointment to engulf her characters. Two simple words, “oh, honey,” give Micah a second chance. A hymn to the undersung virtues of decency, reliability and small acts of unreported kindness.

The Tortoise and the Hare

By Elizabeth Jenkins (1954)

Evelyn Gresham is a successful lawyer and something of a martinet. He expects domestic arrangements to be taken care of: whisky from a cut-glass decanter, dinners served. His wife, Imogen, is young and vaguely pretty: “The fault in her appearance came from temperament: she

looked too often harassed or wistful.” Into their lives sails Blanche Silcox, stately, middle-aged, unperturbable, with “no idiom of gaiety.” Surely Evelyn cannot come to prefer this plain, capable woman to his adorable if nervy bride? Oh, but he can. The moment when, pausing at a gate while out on a country walk, Imogen understands that she has lost is truly heartbreaking. Stopping just this side of tragedy, “The Tortoise and the Hare” achieves all the tension and dread of a horror movie while never disturbing the gentility of the English drawing rooms and gardens where its sad drama unfolds.

To the North

By Elizabeth Bowen (1933)

Two women, both ready for love and adventure; two men, amorous and single. What could possibly go wrong? In Elizabeth Bowen’s hands, the answer is: pretty much everything. Despite the women sharing the surname Summers, there is a distinct chill to this novel. Taking the ingredients of the traditional English marriage plot, Bowen mixes them up in unconventional order. A spiky young widow, Cecilia, befriends cynical Mark on a trans-continental train. But it is Cecilia’s mild sister-in-law, Emmeline, with whom he begins an affair. At first passionate, they soon find themselves, “cast up . . . on a bleak little island of intimacy, too small to explore.” Cecilia, meanwhile, becomes engaged to Mark’s reserved uncle Julian, who keeps re-treating “into an introspection from which her vivacity could not retrieve him.” Both women have picked the wrong man, each more suited to the other’s beau. “I wish Julian had married you!” Cecilia cries to Emmeline. The idea has “all the mournful brightness of an alternative one does not adopt.” “To the North” ends in tragedy, with everyone’s hopes vanquished: Disappointment all round.

SCIENCE FICTION

TOM SHIPPEY

There’s None So Blind . . .



anyone who sees one of them goes mad and commits suicide.

The only way to stay safe is to remain inside, board up all the windows and wear a blindfold if you have to go out. But how long can anyone live like that, when food stores run out and water no longer comes out of the tap?

At the end of “Bird Box,” Mr. Malerman’s heroine, Malorie, seemed to have found a safe haven, in a School for the Blind, where the residents had semi-adapted to their situation. In “Malorie” (Del Rey, 299 pages, \$28), the creatures have found a way in, and she has to flee again. Meanwhile there are signs that other people are adapting. Someone comes around to take a census. There is a Blind Train running in Michigan. There are rumors that someone has

THIS WEEK

Malorie

By Josh Malerman

managed to found a community where the creatures—whatever they are—are no longer a threat.

By this time, in classic sci-fi, a fight-back would have started. There would be a war room deep under-

ground full of scientists thinking up hypotheses and doing experiments until someone has the classic “Eureka” moment. Even without that, in “Malorie,” people have been trying things. Look through an eclipse viewer? Try to film the creatures? Just look at the negatives? Or, like Odysseus and the Sirens, tie someone up outside so tightly that they can’t commit suicide and hope they survive to give you a report?

Good ideas, but that’s not the kind of story Mr. Malerman is writing. He concentrates on psychology, on what it’s like to be totally shut in, on self-betrayal. Malorie’s two children are now 16, and not so easy to control by threats and warnings. The people she meets on the road, on the Blind Train: Can they be trusted? Is everything a trap? Or maybe the whole situation is not a punishment, not a visitation from aliens, but a case of mass hysteria.

Everyone creates his or her own favorite rumor. Malorie knows that “some claim [the creatures’] shadows travel without them. Others claim there’s only one creature, in all the world, and that its many shadows stretch across the planet like dark fingers.” Perhaps the creatures aren’t out there at all and, like the rumors, are just in people’s heads.

“Malorie” is even more of a psychological thriller than “Bird Box,” and all the scarier for it. It’s going to be a real challenge making a movie out of it.

Pox Americana



FICTION

SAM SACKS

The political education of a young American writer and his Pakistani father in the years between 9/11 and the advent of Trump.

WHEN HE WAS a college student in the 1990s, Ayad Akhtar writes in “Homeland Elegies” (Little, Brown, 345 pages, \$28), a beloved professor startled him with her belief that “America had begun as a colony and . . . a colony it remained, that is, a place still defined by its plunder, where enrichment was paramount and civil order always an afterthought.” Today this view would constitute standard-issue academic and op-ed boilerplate, but to the young author it was a jarring “corrective to a tradition of endless American self-congratulation.” The placement of the conversion story at the very start of the book sets up Mr. Akhtar’s trajectory from naive adherent to the American Dream to dogmatic critic of American hegemony; artistically, the anecdote functions like a thesis statement in a five-paragraph essay. “Homeland Elegies” proceeds with a series of sketches illustrating Mr. Akhtar’s political re-education, culminating with the election of Donald Trump, an event that marked “the completion of the long-planned advent of the merchant class to the sanctum sanctorum of American power.” The most interesting scenes are drawn from the author’s childhood in a middle-class Pakistani-American family in Milwaukee, reminiscences that record the disorienting change of perception toward Muslims in a country that went from

valorizing the mujahideen as Cold War freedom fighters to declaring them the world’s foremost enemies of civilization. Further accounts center on encounters with racism and iniquity. Others delve into Mr. Akhtar’s stint on the celebrity circuit after he was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for Drama in 2013. The contemptuous manner with which he relates glitzy perquisites like his writing residency on Lake Como next door to George Clooney’s villa is initially confusing, until one remembers that his political creed—“American self-pillage and plunder”—demands that, in the fashion of a struggle session, he denounce himself for complicity in the system. Mr. Akhtar writes of his “preoccupation with drama and contradiction,” but “Homeland Elegies” is far too fixated on political orthodoxy to permit of either. Though it has been labeled a novel—for legal reasons? because the category sounds more prestigious than “memoir”?—it possesses nothing you might expect from the form: no plot, no characters, no narrative unreliability, no subtext and no particular conflict, since the lesson has been established from the outset. The book’s scrupulous condescension reminded me of nothing so much as the pancake-flat fictions of Michel Houellebecq, whose novels serve as “literary” punditry for the chattering classes, albeit with a diametri-

cally opposed political stance. The book reaches a pitch of patronizing superiority in the sections about Mr. Akhtar’s father, an award-winning cardiologist who briefly treated Donald Trump and then had the effrontery to vote for his former patient in the 2016 election. There’s an extraordinary character waiting to be made from this flawed figure—someone brilliant, charismatic and aspirational to the point

THIS WEEK

Homeland Elegies

By Ayad Akhtar

All God’s Children

By Aaron Gwyn

Cuyahoga

By Pete Beatty

of hubris and greed—but Mr. Akhtar’s interest lies only in making an example of him. Thus the caricatural portrait of a “menacing dolt” who must be publicly shamed for his wrong-thinking. This is crude and unseemly, but frankly, the author’s lack of respect for his father is his own business, as is his depleted belief in the promise of the United States. More disturbing to me is—on the evidence of this book—his loss of faith in literature. In the barest sense, Aaron Gwyn’s new novel, “All God’s Children” (Europa, 389 pages, \$17.99), takes a view of American history that is just

as scabrous as Mr. Akhtar’s. Yet Mr. Gwyn has couched his meanings within a swift and skillful western, which allows them to unfold with devastating power. The novel follows two converging storylines set mostly in the Republic of Texas after its independence from Mexico but before its annexation by the United States. Duncan Lammons is a captain in the Texas Rangers who fled his native Kentucky in part because of his attraction to men. Cecelia is a fugitive slave living with Samuel Fisk, a lone-wolf former soldier alongside Duncan, who has built a quiet homestead on the frontier. Much like Sebastian Barry’s recent westerns “Days Without End” and “A Thousand Moons,” about a makeshift family of outcasts, Mr. Gwyn’s characters are determined loners struggling to stay separate from the bloody, machine-like progress of Manifest Destiny. Duncan is haunted by his conscription into the genocidal Indian Wars. For Cecelia and Samuel, slavery hovers closer as Texas nears statehood. “I left America,” Cecelia thinks, “and it snuck up and surrounded us.” Despite their dreams of outrunning it, violence seeks them all out, building to a climax of unsettling bitterness and revenge. The very people who founded the American West, this bracing novel suggests, were those most desperate to be independent from it.

Pete Beatty offers a light-hearted parody of America’s founding mythologies with his debut, “Cuyahoga” (Scribner, 265 pages, \$27), set in the 1830s in the township of Ohio City, before it was absorbed into Cleveland, its neighbor across the river. The hero at the heart of the tale is Big Son, a larger-than-life “American Hercules” who settled the territory by single-handedly clearing the forests, wrestling with Lake Erie and even forging an alliance with Lucifer. But when the story hits its stride, the days of legend have passed and Ohio City is trying to establish a more normal way of life. This leaves Big Son dangerously unemployed, reduced to begging local merchants for work, as though Paul Bunyan had been forced to put down his axe and find a job as an accountant. The story springs from the historical circumstances of a bridge, built from Cleveland over the Cuyahoga River, that bypassed Ohio City, enraging its citizens. But the controversy is a bit of a MacGuffin, as the entertainment lies more in the folksy, mock-Twainian prose (“My brother were democratic in his feats,” says the narrator, Medium Son; “he done them in a hundred different patterns, like calico”) as well as its musings on the ambivalent fate of our national heroes. “Birthing a country,” writes Mr. Beatty, “left you ill used as birthing a dozen babes.”

BOOKS

‘We love most what we must have but can never have; and so on we go, west and then west.’ —BRIAN DOYLE, ‘THE PLOVER’

The Men That Don’t Fit In

The Cold Millions
By Jess Walter
Harper, 344 pages, \$28.99

By MAUREEN CORRIGAN

“AMERICA I FEEL sentimental about the Wobblies,” declared Allen Ginsberg in his incantatory poem “America,” written in 1956. These days maybe there’s a bit less reason to feel merely sentimental about the Wobblies. Membership in the Industrial Workers of the World, as the Wobblies are formally known, has ticked up, and IWW organizing among workers at Starbucks and elsewhere has made news. Still, the “One Big Union” that was founded in 1905 to cut across all trades and industries and unite the workers of the world against the interests of capital remains a utopian dream. Mention “the Wobblies” to most Americans today and they will likely think you’re referring to delirium tremens.

Jess Walter also feels sentimental about the Wobblies. His vibrant new novel, “The Cold Millions,” takes place in Spokane, Wash., in 1909 and 1910 and centers on the momentous free-speech demonstrations that erupted in that city, pitting police and city officials against transient timber, construction and agricultural workers; hoboes, trade unionists, socialists and anarchists, many of whom identified as Wobblies. Spokane had instituted a ban on public speaking in response to the soapbox orations of IWW activists who were trying to break the grip of corrupt employment agencies in the city. The omniscient narrator of “The Cold Millions” explains the con this way:

“They forked a dollar for the pleasure of a twelve-hour workday, knowing full well the shark was likely to split their buck with the straw boss and pull the job after two weeks for another crew (at a dollar-a-man) . . . so no man could get a foothold.”

The Spokane free-speech demonstrations began in November 1909 and drew some famous participants, among them the charismatic teenage Wobbly orator Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, whom the country would come to know as “the rebel girl.” She and more than 500 protesters were jailed before the city revoked the ban, making Spokane a landmark triumph in the history of U.S. battles over political censorship.

For Mr. Walter, that history is also personal. In his acknowledgments, he says that his grandfather hopped trains to find work around the west, and that his father was a lifelong union man. This is a novel that’s been incubating in Mr. Walter’s imagination for years, predating his 2012 bestseller “Beautiful Ruins.” That story, set in a remote Italian fishing village, was an exquisite appeal to escapism, whereas “The Cold Millions” is engaged. Consider the stark difference in setting alone: Spokane in 1909 is a city that attracts, not a sprinkling of rich American tourists and movie stars, but a flotilla of men looking for work. Here’s the rough, Whitmanesque catalog that opens “The Cold Millions”:

“They woke on a ball field—bums, tramps, hobos, stiffs. Two dozen of them spread out on bedrolls and blankets in a narrow floodplain just below the skid, past taverns, tanners, and tents, shotgun shacks hung like hounds’ tongues over the Spokane River. Seasonal work over, they floated in from mines and farms and log camps, filled every flop and boardinghouse, slept in parks



and alleys . . . and, on the night just past, this abandoned ball field, its infield littered with itinerants, vagrants, floaters, Americans.”

These are “the men that don’t fit in,” to quote the popular Robert Service poem from the same period, or, more accurately, the men who can’t fit in because the system is rigged against them. “The Cold Millions” magnifies the social criticism that fueled some of Mr. Walter’s earlier novels: “The Financial Lives of the Poets” (2009), a mordant comedy about that decade’s financial crisis, and “Citizen Vince” (2005), another Spokane novel of remarkable prescience in our age of determined voter suppression, about an ex-felon frantically trying to cast his vote in the 1980 presidential election. In “The Cold Millions,” Mr. Walter takes the frustrations with participatory democracy and the dented dream of American social mobility expressed by the individual heroes of those earlier novels and renders them collective. The result is a strikingly earnest historical novel filled with a gusto that honors the beauty of believing in societal change and simultaneously recognizes the cruel limits of the possible.

“The Cold Millions” traces the adventures of two vagabond brothers—Ryan (“Rye”) Dolan, age 16, and Gregory (“Gig”), 23—who find themselves adrift in the world after their parents and other siblings have died. Rye and Gig are among that mass of sleepers on that ball field or “hobo nest.” Gig is a handsome, hard-drinking autodidact, reading Jack London and “War and Peace”—the latter via whatever out-of-order volumes of the story he finds. He also has an eye for the ladies and has fallen hard for Ursula the Great, a red-haired vaudeville entertainer decried as a “spectacle of indecency” by the local newspapers. Ursula performs onstage with a live cougar and (un-

beknownst to Gig) shares her favors with one of the robber barons who control Spokane.

Rye is a shy romantic—the quintessential innocent destined to be wised up by novel’s end. When Gig, who’s already joined the Wobblies, gets knocked off his soap box at a demonstration, Rye steps up without thinking and takes his place, before he, too, gets “a kick to the gut” followed by a beating that felt “like it had been coming his whole short sweet life.”

The brothers, along with hundreds of other protesters, are jailed, but because of Rye’s youth—

A 1909 battle over fair pay and free speech is the canvas for a story of utopian dreams and chilly realities.

and because his voice and story have attracted the notice of none other than Elizabeth Gurley Flynn—he’s sprung from prison while poor Gig is left to honor his commitment to a prison hunger strike. Flynn is but one of many historical figures Mr. Walter folds into this novel: IWW organizers James Walsh and Frank Little also make appearances. (In a well-traveled story that’s been discounted by scholars, Dashiell Hammett always claimed that during his early career as a strike-breaking Pinkerton he’d been offered \$5,000 by a mining company boss to assassinate Frank Little.) In addition, a host of fictional stock characters swarm the narrative—among them a loathsome private eye, an anarchist zealot and the aforementioned power-mad robber baron who manipulates

Rye into snitching on the Wobblies in order to save his beloved brother. In short sections interspersed throughout the novel, all these characters offer accounts of their own lives and have their say on the escalating violence in Spokane.

That sprawling, story-heavy narrative structure should suggest something else Mr. Walter is sentimental about here: namely, the traditional historical novel. In its lefty political bent and hybrid cast of real and made-up characters, “The Cold Millions” is reminiscent of the work of John Dos Passos and E.L. Doctorow. It even gestures to the grand European canvases by Stendhal and Flaubert spotlighting young men caught in political and personal whirlwinds. “The Cold Millions,” however, eschews the metadramatic self-consciousness that marks novels like “The Book of Daniel” and “Ragtime.” Instead, Mr. Walter’s style of historical fiction owes something to exciting midcult yarns by Kenneth Roberts, Herman Wouk and Howard Fast—tellers of big stories about the past (“Northwest Passage,” “The Winds of War,” “Spartacus”) who wanted to honor the forgotten foot soldiers of history.

“It’s quite a thing when the world is upside down to hear someone say it don’t have to be.” That’s the opening epiphany, fueled by a few rounds of beers with Gig’s labor brothers at a Spokane tavern, that sends young Rye on his rocky journey toward enlightenment in this spirited and expansive novel. Allen Ginsberg, toward the end of “America,” expressed the same moment of hope and possibility differently: “It occurs to me that I am America.”

Ms. Corrigan is the book critic for the NPR program “Fresh Air.” She teaches literature at Georgetown University.

Alert to Wonder, Ready for the Unexpected



CHILDREN’S BOOKS
MEGHAN COX GURDON

A spell-book of poems that conjure up the animal world.



THE DECISION of Oxford University Press some years ago to cull words associated with the natural world from its dictionaries for young people inspired naturalist Robert Macfarlane and artist Jackie Morris to create one of the most exquisite books of the decade. Published in 2018, “The Lost Words” combines acrostic verse with gorgeous illustration to evoke the wild, distinctive beauty of animals and plants banished by the lexicographers. Elegiac and uplifting, the book has an expansive layout that makes it a thing to share, ideal for a family setting. In a companion volume small enough to slip into a jacket pocket, Mr. Macfarlane and Ms. Morris return with “The Lost Spells” (Anansi, 120 pages, \$26).

This elegant “little sister” to “The Lost Words,” as the publisher styles it, shares that book’s sweeping melancholy. “Loss is the tune of our age; hard to miss and hard to bear,” we read in a brief introduction. “Creatures, places and words disappear, day after day, year on year. But there has always

been singing in dark times—and wonder is needed now more than ever.”

What follows are pages of incantatory poems for the reader to speak aloud, so as to conjure, in a way, the plants and animals they describe. Jointly composed, the verses are set amid naturalistic watercolor paintings by Ms. Morris that have a peculiar intensity (see below). She brings us close to sharp beaks and vulpine muzzles; a hare’s amber eye considers us; we are caught in the obsidian gaze of a barn owl: “Below Barn Owl spreads silence; / All sound crouches to ground, / Runs for cover, huddles down. / Noise is what Owl hunts, drops on, stops dead. / Over rushes, across marshes, Owl hushes— / Will you listen with Owl ears for a while? / Let the wide world’s whispers call you in?”

An illustrated glossary at the end of “The Lost Spells” is meant to be used outdoors in locating the plants and animals it includes. As a practical matter for readers in North America, this is more a romantic than realistic aspiration, since some of the creatures are notably elusive (snow hares, gray seals) and others don’t live on this continent (red-billed coughts, scarlet tiger moths). That said, beauty and poetry need not be practical. There is enough magic here to summon wild things even for those who are snug indoors.

Educating children about the natural world means teaching them to identify flora and fauna, even though, as Jane Yolen notes in the picture book “Knowing the Name of a Bird” (Creative Editions, 32 pages, \$18.99), living things are unaware of what we call them, or indeed that we label them at all. This idea will be no kind of bombshell for adults, but it may intrigue children ages 2-6, who are comparatively new

THIS WEEK

The Lost Spells
By Robert Macfarlane
Illustrated by Jackie Morris

Knowing the Name of a Bird
By Jane Yolen
Illustrated by Jori van der Linde

There Must Be More Than That!
By Shinsuke Yoshitake

to the varieties and use of language. “A bird’s name is not what it is, but what we call it: robin, hawk, peacock, swan,” Ms. Yolen writes, introducing the idea of both the caprice and the inadequacy of avian names. As she explains—and Jori van der Linde shows in appealing stylized artwork—a bird’s name may give no clue as to the color of its feathers, the shape of its nest or the pattern of its flight.

This relativistic musing was inspired, we learn from an afterword, by the late physicist Richard Feynman, who observed that a person can know a bird’s name in every human language and yet know “absolutely nothing whatever about the bird.” Such knowledge, he believed, will be achieved only when we can understand what birds are saying when they communicate. Until then, we must be content with the names we give them and the enchantment of their song. Shinsuke Yoshitake offers young children a bracing antidote to the news-induced gloom that their parents and older siblings may exude in “There Must Be More Than That!” (Chronicle, 32 pages, \$18.99), a picture book that radiates subversive good cheer. The brightly colored, cartoon-style illustrations begin with a scenario that is far from unusual, given the widespread pessimism of what we might agree to call these uncertain times. A worldly-wise big brother informs his little sister that things are going wrong. “Terrible things are going to happen in the future,” he says. “We’re going to run out of food because there are too many people. There will be plagues and wars and alien invasions. The earth will be destroyed.” In any case, the boy concludes, “by the time we grow up, things are going to be terrible.”

Hollow-eyed with worry, the little girl staggers off to find her grandmother, who is sitting up in a futon bed reading a book. “Grandma . . . our future is doomed!” the child cries. Laying out her brother’s catalog of catastrophe—here shown in a gray cloud of images—she gets a surprising response. “Don’t worry!” her grandmother says, beaming from behind wire-rimmed glasses. “No one really knows what will happen in the future! Sure, there will be bad things, but there will be lots and lots of good things, too.” As the old lady dilates on the subject, Mr. Yoshitake’s comic drawings show that in life there are unexpected options and many possible types of future: “a future with hot dogs every day,” perhaps, or (and this one cuts a little close to the coronavirus bone) “a future where it’s okay to spend the day in pajamas.”

Children ages 6-10 are the intended audience for this book, but adults would do well to absorb its robust and encouraging message. It’s true that in these uncertain times we face political division and cultural disarray; but we also live in an age of technological wonders and unfurling medical discoveries. As the child in the book says to her grandmother, “Who knows? You could end up living for 300 years!” Not realistic, but so what? Optimism is the art of defaulting to hope.

BOOKS

‘As I walk, solitary, unattended, / Around me I hear that éclat of the world.’ –WALT WHITMAN, ‘AS I WALK THESE BROAD MAJESTIC DAYS’

Song of the Sidewalk

The Walker
By Matthew Beaumont
Verso, 320 pages, \$29.95

By WILLARD SPIEGELMAN

WALKING is natural. No one needs to be taught how to do it. Writing about it is a different matter, hardly natural. “The Walker,” by the British scholar Matthew Beaumont, is an erudite book that moves at a pace alternating between brisk and leisurely. In his introduction, Mr. Beaumont admits what every urban stroller knows: “It is walking that habitually makes me feel alive.” With its ability to make the walker feel both immersed and apart from the bustle, its effects are complex: “Stimulant, then, and narcotic.” That knot of emotion and energy is a clue to the book’s approach to its subject, which is not walking as exercise or locomotion, but the more challenging territory of the politics and poetics of walking, primarily in cities, and as recounted in literature of the past two centuries.

His book is a series of peregrinations centering on single authors, many of them still familiar. The chapter titles are all gerunds, like “walking” itself: “Convalescing,” “Going Astray,” “Disappearing,” “Fleeing,” “Wandering,” “Collapsing,” and “Striding, Staring.” The real outliers are “Stumbling” (on Ray Bradbury’s sci-fi story “The Pedestrian”) and—the most unexpected—“Beginning,” on Georges Bataille’s 1929 essay “The Big Toe,” which presents its subject as the noblest and basest part of the human body, on which our locomotion depends.

The walking our author sedulously traces is not a country ramble or a woodland hike, but the kind that requires a city. London is his special concern, but Paris is where it all began. It was “modernized” after the 1848 riots by Georges-Eugène Haussmann, the Robert Moses of his day. He refashioned the city, eliminating warrens of winding, cobbled medieval streets, and then building the great boulevards that made possible modern commercial enterprises and the promenading of the “flâneur” (stroller), of whom Balzac, Baudelaire and Walter Benjamin all wrote. “The street is the domain of the trivial,” says Mr. Beaumont, joining the other three Bs. It is also the domain of daydreaming, restlessness, voyeurism and surveillance. Walkers are alone in a crowd. They observe and can be observed. The culture of spectacle offered by modern commerce and architecture creates the possibility for both immersion and detachment (a detachment that at its worst can produce smartphone-added zombies, the “smombies” who drift into the paths of others, cut off from “the sensorium of the city.”)



AMBLING MAN ‘Paris Street; Rainy Day’ (1877) by Gustave Caillebotte.

But even those of us not so anesthetized shouldn’t expect to be taking or following an easy, pleasant amble. The restless, sometimes insomniac walkers in these books are entering worlds of anxiety and fear. We are far from the world of Rousseau’s “Rêveries du promeneur solitaire” (1782). Instead, we bear witness to alienation, nightmare and dystopia. Everything seems to lead to or from Kafka, or even the metaphysical paintings of Giorgio de Chirico, who referred to “the enigma of sudden revelation” that can unite the innocent and the sinister.

Mr. Beaumont’s claim that “walking became a self-conscious activity in the nineteenth century” is an exaggeration, but his writers all depict the existential angst created by drifting, vagrancy and getting lost in a modern urban labyrinth. Disease, or unease, predominates over recreation in these texts. The hero of Poe’s “The Man of the Crowd,” a convalescent, is like the flâneur: he exists without motivation, in a transitional state.

Walking, especially by night, can produce—as well as result from—abnormal psychological conditions like agoraphobia, claustrophobia, voyeurism, and “fugue states,” first defined in the 1880s as a species of amnesia that involves physical wandering. The diagnosis of this new condition coincided with a resurgence of the utopian imagination in works like Edward Bellamy’s “Looking Backward,” whose hero wanders through time rather than space. Connecting literature and psychological theories, Mr. Beaumont suggests that we must not dismiss utopian fiction as mere escapist fantasy: “In Bellamy’s hands, utopian fiction effectively becomes an ‘art of the fugue.’”

Like his prose, Mr. Beaumont’s mind is anything but pedestrian, and he moves in unpredictable directions. He is as attuned to matters of medicine and science, anthropology, economics, philosophy and psychology as he is to literature and the visual arts. After redeeming Dickens’s “The Old Curiosity Shop” from its perpetual classification as a sentimental tearjerker, he suggests that it prefigures both “Finnegans Wake” and “Lolita.” He makes connections: the chapter on “Mrs. Dalloway” successfully allies Virginia Woolf’s

Sometimes walking isn’t about going anywhere. The modern city gave birth to the aimless, restless and revolutionary stroll.

style with Cubism, both of which “unify and beautify the chaos of metropolitan life.” (Woolf is his only woman writer.) Literary modernism, he says, dramatizes oppositions between “the politics of spectacle and the poetics of introspection.” Epiphanies can occur on pavements or pages anywhere.

Mr. Beaumont uses the language of contemporary literary theory, but with none of the rebarbative jargon-mongering of others in the professoriate. His references to the usual suspects—from Marx, Freud and Adorno through Lacan and Derrida, to Deleuze and Guattari, Žižek and Agamben—are never gratuitous, but always helpful in understanding the literary, historical, and psychological terrain he explores.

I have mentioned the chapter on the big toe, a stylistic tour de force on the part of both Bataille and Mr. Beaumont. For the former, this most cantankerous part of the body makes the human foot “a firm foundation to the erection of which man is so proud.” In addition, it is “stupidly consecrated to corns, calluses, and bunions, and . . . to the most loathsome filthiness.” An evolutionary latecomer, it’s also an advanced piece of technology. Unlike thumbs, big toes are not opposable. Bipedalism precedes brain development in humans. Unlike apes, for whom bipedalism is optional, for us it is obligatory. The rhythm and rhyme of walking depend on it. This very thought sends Mr. Beaumont off on one of his illuminating digressions—a consideration of Gerard Manley Hopkins and his notion of “sprung rhythm.”

He also writes about the architecture that towers over contemporary walkers. His book’s last chapter (“Not Belonging”) looks squarely at the menacing way in which many urban

corporate buildings seem hostile and humiliating to the alienated people who pass by but frequently do not, or cannot, enter them. “We are not at home in the streets of our cities,” he says, as so much formerly public space has been privatized. Surveillance cameras mounted on fortress-like edifices watch us, but we cannot reciprocate. It’s no mystery, given this, that the hoodie has become an instrument of self-protection as well as concealment.

In an afterward, the scholar steps aside and the walker recounts two nocturnal ambles of his own, in London and Paris. He offers a chilling description of the final walk (or cart-ride) of prisoners, centuries back, condemned to be hanged at the Tyburn Tree, where Marble Arch now stands. The victims, mostly the laboring poor, were overwhelmingly guilty of crimes against property, not persons, and ended their sorry lives in a spot that today bears almost no trace of their existence. In 1908, G.K. Chesterton called it a “placid monstrosity,” a portal into empty space. Marble Arch is now just a monument surrounded by a traffic circle “that looks as if it has been cut adrift from the end of Oxford Street.”

The Eiffel Tower, visited one cold, wet night in 2012, was even more frightening. Only homeless individuals and families inhabited the streets around it. “I felt as if a layer of skin had been coolly scraped from my back beneath my neat, black rucksack and thick clothes,” he says, reminding us that history, geography, even the weather, make vagrants of us all, wandering through the palimpsest of space and the fluidity of time.

Mr. Spiegelman is at work on a life of the poet Amy Clampitt.

Bestselling Books | Week Ended October 17

With data from NPD BookScan

Hardcover Nonfiction

TITLE AUTHOR / PUBLISHER	THIS WEEK	LAST WEEK	TITLE AUTHOR / PUBLISHER	THIS WEEK	LAST WEEK
Modern Comfort Food Ina Garten/Clarkson Potter	1	1	Didn't See That Coming Rachel Hollis/Dey Street	6	8
This Just Speaks to Me Hoda Kotb/Putnam	2	New	Killing Crazy Horse Bill O'Reilly & Martin Dugard/Holt	7	10
The Happy in a Hurry Cookbook Steve Doocy/Morrow	3	3	Follow the Money Dan Bongino/Post Hill	8	—
Caste Isabel Wilkerson/Random House	4	—	Rage Bob Woodward/Simon & Schuster	9	7
Blackout Candace Owens/Threshold	5	5	Is This Anything? Jerry Seinfeld/Simon & Schuter	10	6

Nonfiction E-Books

TITLE AUTHOR / PUBLISHER	THIS WEEK	LAST WEEK	TITLE AUTHOR / PUBLISHER	THIS WEEK	LAST WEEK
The Power of Awakening Wayne W. Dyer/Hay House	1	N/A	Modern Comfort Food Ina Garten/Clarkson Potter	1	N/A
In Order to Live Park Yeonmi/Penguin	2	N/A	This Just Speaks to Me Hoda Kotb/Putnam	2	N/A
Caste Isabel Wilkerson/Random House	3	N/A	Happy in a Hurry Cookbook Steve Doocy/Morrow	3	N/A
The Princess Diarist Carrie Fisher/Blue Rider	4	N/A	Caste Isabel Wilkerson/Random House	4	N/A
Jesus: The God Who Knows Your... Max Lucado/Thomas Nelson	5	N/A	Blackout Candace Owens/Threshold	5	N/A
Sous Vide Hugh Acheson/Clarkson Potter	6	N/A	Killing Crazy Horse Bill O'Reilly & Martin Dugard/Holt	6	N/A
Don't Overthink It Anne Bogel/Baker	7	N/A	Rage Bob Woodward/Simon & Schuster	7	N/A
One Vote Away Ted Cruz/Regnery	8	N/A	Didn't See That Coming Rachel Hollis/Dey Street	8	N/A
Burnout Emily Nagoski/Ballantine	9	N/A	Untamed Glennon Doyle/Dial	9	N/A
Rage Bob Woodward/Simon & Schuster	10	N/A	Follow the Money Dan Bongino/Post Hill	10	N/A

Nonfiction Combined

TITLE AUTHOR / PUBLISHER	THIS WEEK	LAST WEEK
Modern Comfort Food Ina Garten/Clarkson Potter	1	N/A
This Just Speaks to Me Hoda Kotb/Putnam	2	N/A
Happy in a Hurry Cookbook Steve Doocy/Morrow	3	N/A
Caste Isabel Wilkerson/Random House	4	N/A
Blackout Candace Owens/Threshold	5	N/A
Killing Crazy Horse Bill O'Reilly & Martin Dugard/Holt	6	N/A
Rage Bob Woodward/Simon & Schuster	7	N/A
Didn't See That Coming Rachel Hollis/Dey Street	8	N/A
Untamed Glennon Doyle/Dial	9	N/A
Follow the Money Dan Bongino/Post Hill	10	N/A

Hardcover Fiction

TITLE AUTHOR / PUBLISHER	THIS WEEK	LAST WEEK	TITLE AUTHOR / PUBLISHER	THIS WEEK	LAST WEEK
A Time for Mercy John Grisham/Doubleday	1	New	Rowley Jefferson's Awesome... Jeff Kinney/Amulet	6	—
Dog Man: Grime and Punishment Dav Pilkey/Graphix	2	2	The Evening and the Morning Ken Follett/Viking	7	9
The Return Nicholas Sparks/Grand Central	3	3	The Book of Two Ways Jodi Picoult/Ballantine	8	—
Midnight Sun Stephenie Meyer/Little, Brown Young Readers	4	6	The Searcher Tana French/Viking	9	5
The Tower of Nero Rick Riordan/Disney-Hyperion	5	1	Champion of the Titan Games Brandon Mull/Shadow Mountain	10	New

Fiction E-Books

TITLE AUTHOR / PUBLISHER	THIS WEEK	LAST WEEK	TITLE AUTHOR / PUBLISHER	THIS WEEK	LAST WEEK
A Time for Mercy John Grisham/Doubleday	1	N/A	A Time for Mercy John Grisham/Doubleday	1	N/A
Return to Virgin River Robyn Carr/Mira	2	N/A	Dog Man: Grime and Punishment Dav Pilkey/Graphix	2	N/A
The Last Flight Julie Clark/Sourcebooks Landmark	3	N/A	The Return Nicholas Sparks/Grand Central	3	N/A
The Evening and the Morning Ken Follett/Viking	4	N/A	Room on the Broom Julia Donaldson/Puffin	4	N/A
The Searcher Tana French/Viking	5	N/A	Midnight Sun Stephenie Meyer/Little, Brown Young Readers	5	N/A
The Boyfriend Effect Kendall Ryan/Kendall Ryan	6	N/A	The Evening and the Morning Ken Follett/Viking	6	N/A
Officially Over It Lani Lynn Vale/Lani Lynn Vale	7	N/A	The Tower of Nero Rick Riordan/Disney-Hyperion	7	N/A
The Silent Patient Alex Michaelides/Celadon	8	N/A	The Searcher Tana French/Viking	8	N/A
The Lord of the Rings: One Volume J.R.R. Tolkien/Houghton Mifflin Harcourt	9	N/A	Jingle All the Way Debbie Macomber/Ballantine	9	N/A
Troubles in Paradise Elin Hilderbrand/Little, Brown	10	N/A	Return to Virgin River Robyn Carr/Mira	10	N/A

Fiction Combined

TITLE AUTHOR / PUBLISHER	THIS WEEK	LAST WEEK
A Time for Mercy John Grisham/Doubleday	1	N/A
Dog Man: Grime and Punishment Dav Pilkey/Graphix	2	N/A
The Return Nicholas Sparks/Grand Central	3	N/A
Room on the Broom Julia Donaldson/Puffin	4	N/A
Midnight Sun Stephenie Meyer/Little, Brown Young Readers	5	N/A
The Evening and the Morning Ken Follett/Viking	6	N/A
The Tower of Nero Rick Riordan/Disney-Hyperion	7	N/A
The Searcher Tana French/Viking	8	N/A
Jingle All the Way Debbie Macomber/Ballantine	9	N/A
Return to Virgin River Robyn Carr/Mira	10	N/A

Methodology

NPD BookScan gathers point-of-sale book data from more than 16,000 locations across the U.S., representing about 85% of the nation's book sales. Print-book data providers include all major booksellers, web retailers and food stores. E-book data providers include all major e-book retailers. Free e-books and those selling for less than 99 cents are excluded. The fiction and nonfiction combined lists include aggregated sales for all book formats (except audio books, bundles, boxed sets and foreign language editions) and feature a combination of adult, young adult and juvenile titles. The hardcover fiction and nonfiction lists also encompass a mix of adult, young adult and juvenile titles while the business list features only adult hardcover titles. Refer questions to Teresa.Vozzo@wsj.com.

Hardcover Business

TITLE AUTHOR / PUBLISHER	THIS WEEK	LAST WEEK
The Path Peter Mallouk/Post Hill	1	New
Atomic Habits James Clear/Avery	2	1
Extreme Ownership Jocko Willink & Leif Babin/St. Martin's	3	4
StrengthsFinder 2.0 Tom Rath/Gallup	4	2
Dare to Lead Brené Brown/Random House	5	3
Total Money Makeover Dave Ramsey/Thomas Nelson	6	5
The Daily Stoic Ryan Holiday & Stephen Hanselman/Portfolio	7	6
Trampled by Unicorns Maele Gavet/Wiley	8	—
How I Built This Guy Raz/Houghton Mifflin Harcourt	9	10
The Five Dysfunctions of a Team Patrick M. Lencioni/Jossey-Bass	10	7

PLAY

NEWS QUIZ DANIEL AKST

1. Pope Francis did something that marked a sharp departure for the Vatican. What was it?

- A. He endorsed civil unions for same-sex couples.
- B. He said that some forms of contraception are permissible.
- C. He named a panel to overhaul Catholic teaching on divorce.
- D. He suggested a new category of clergy open to women.

2. Americans will vote in 11 gubernatorial elections in 2020. Which is the only one too close to call before Election Day?

- A. Maryland
- B. Massachusetts
- C. Michigan
- D. Montana

3. Which of these classics was on the list of most frequently performed high school musicals in the latest annual survey?

- A. "Oklahoma"
- B. "Guys and Dolls"
- C. "Bye Bye Birdie"
- D. None of the above

4. Companies are looking to quickly resolve their cases at the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau. Why?

- A. Remorse
- B. A belief the agency will get tougher if Biden is elected
- C. A new law that will toughen penalties after Jan. 1
- D. An upcoming

Answers are listed below the crossword solutions at right.

From this week's Wall Street Journal

rule change making firms with outstanding cases ineligible for federal contracts or aid

5. A dinosaur fossil discovered by brothers Peter and Neal Larson sold for \$32 million—exacerbating their feud because Neal got all the money. What kind of dinosaur?

- A. Brontosaurus
- B. Brachiosaurus
- C. Tyrannosaurus rex
- D. Triceratops

6. Chairman Jerome Powell says the Fed will only proceed with caution—in doing what?

- A. Flooding the world with cheap greenbacks
- B. Adding timber and fine wines to its balance sheet
- C. Launching a digital currency
- D. Addressing possible asset bubbles

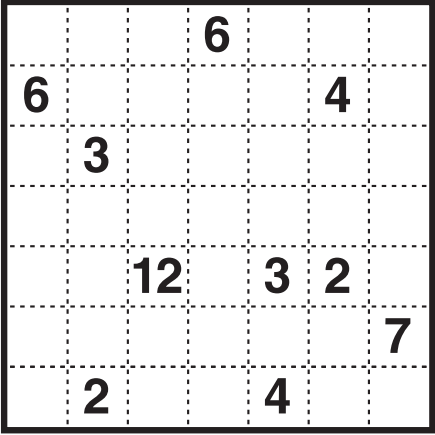
7. New Orleans Mayor LaToya Cantrell has battled the Saints football team—over what?

- A. Renovating the Superdome
- B. Admitting fans during the pandemic
- C. Quarantining players and coaches
- D. Going for it more on fourth down



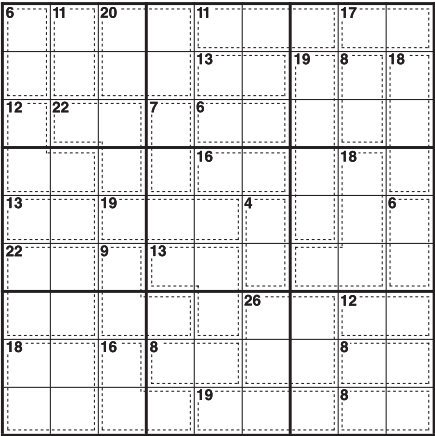
NUMBER PUZZLES

Cell Blocks



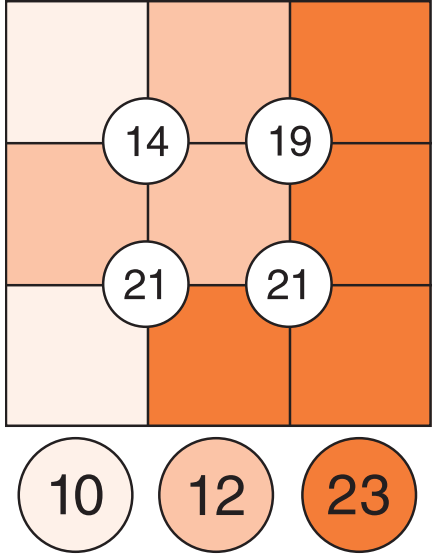
Divide the grid into square or rectangular blocks, each containing one digit only. Every block must contain the number of cells indicated by the digit inside it.

Killer Sudoku Level 4



As with standard Sudoku, fill the grid so that every column, every row and every 3x3 box contains the digits 1 to 9. Each set of cells joined by dotted lines must add up to the target number in its top-left corner. Within each set of cells joined by dotted lines, a digit cannot be repeated.

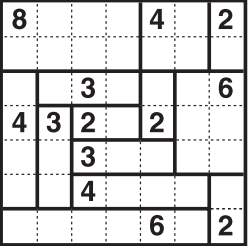
Suko



Place the numbers 1 to 9 in the spaces so that the number in each circle is equal to the sum of the four surrounding spaces, and each color total is correct.

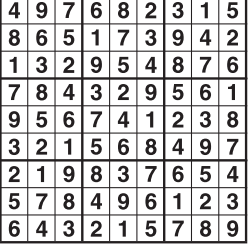
SOLUTIONS TO LAST WEEK'S PUZZLES

Cell Blocks

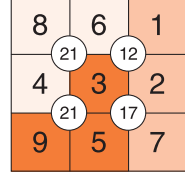


For previous weeks' puzzles, and to discuss strategies with other solvers, go to [WSJ.com/puzzles](https://www.wsj.com/puzzles).

Killer Sudoku Level 3



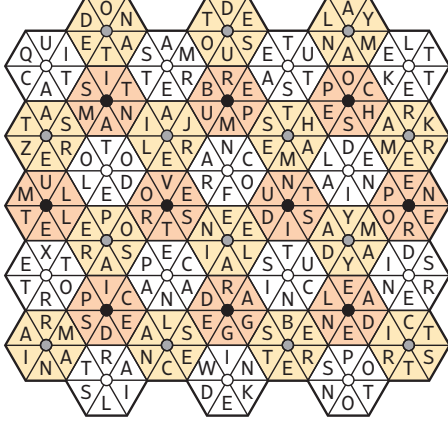
Suko



Second Place

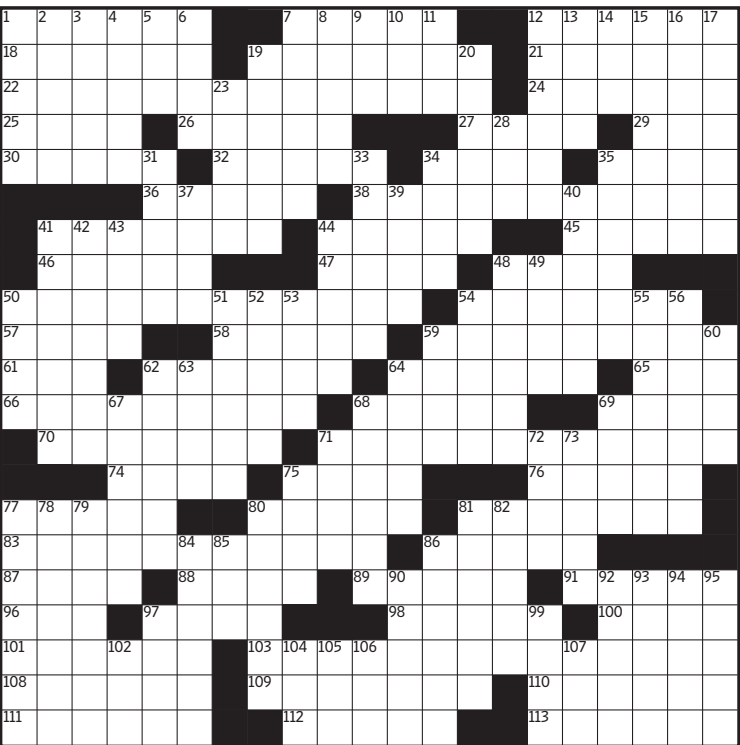


Rows Garden



Answers to News Quiz: 1.A, 2.D, 3.D, 4.B, 5.C, 6.C, 7.B

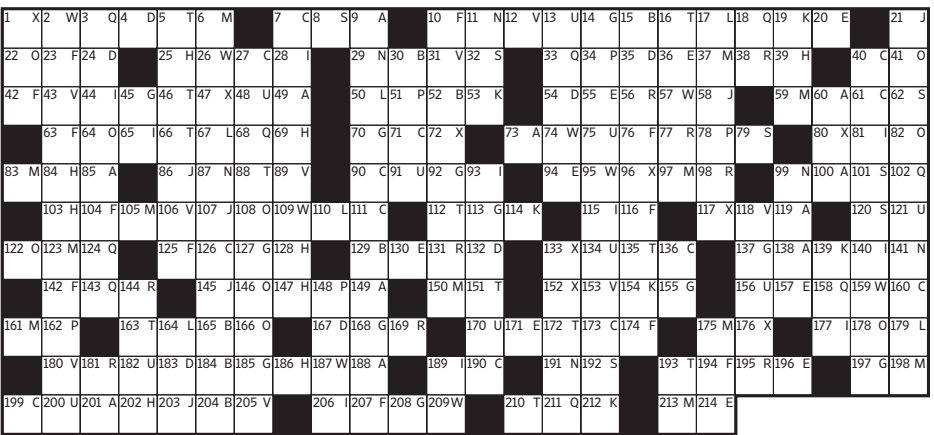
THE JOURNAL WEEKEND PUZZLES edited by MIKE SHENK



United Nations | by Mike Shenk

- Across
- 1 Jennifer's "Friends" role
 - 7 1981 #2 hit for John Lennon
 - 12 United Nations member since 1964 (but not part of this puzzle's theme)
 - 18 Return declaration
 - 19 "Well done!"
 - 21 Revealing insight
 - 22 Neologist's activity (66-Across + 3-Down)
 - 24 Bottled spirits
 - 25 Words between "Deal" and "Deal"
 - 26 More prudent
 - 27 Chip maker's supply
 - 29 Dinner scrap
 - 30 Soul mate
 - 32 Ready for the cobbler, perhaps
 - 34 Once around at Churchill Downs
 - 35 Traumatize
 - 36 Divination readings
 - 38 Current holder of the title Duke of Normandy (20-Down + 54-Down)
 - 41 United Nations member since 1974
 - 44 Past paunchy
 - 45 Site of some waves
 - 46 Drive away
 - 47 Supporting arguments
 - 48 Driver of the Black Beauty, on 1960s TV
 - 50 Profit (68-Across + 77-Down)
 - 54 Gave a hard time
 - 57 Altar setting
 - 58 Source of some pressure
 - 59 Tough prisons
 - 61 Golden ratio symbol
 - 62 Sitter hirer
 - 64 Saved for future use
 - 65 Break
 - 66 United Nations member since 1964
 - 68 United Nations member since 1964
 - 69 "Das Rheingold" goddess
 - 70 TV's Daly and Kressley
 - 71 Going on and on (41-Across + 112-Across)
 - 74 Hieroglyphic creatures
 - 75 Polar bear bearer
 - 76 Florentine friends
 - 77 Lost play by Aeschylus
 - 80 Exhibits brilliance
 - 81 United Nations member since 1945
 - 83 1963 Billy Wilder movie (81-Across + 37-Down)
 - 86 Has a hunch
 - 87 Decent chap
 - 88 Lo-cal
 - 89 Control panel array
 - 91 Fodder for color commentary
 - 96 Peyton's younger brother
 - 97 Snorkeling spot
 - 98 Marks for retention
 - 100 Disturb
 - 101 Cujo's ailment
 - 103 Region with many plants (17-Down + 78-Down)
 - 108 Accustoms
 - 109 They may have removable parts
 - 110 Globe setting
 - 111 Space filler, of a sort
 - 112 United Nations member since 1960
 - 113 Big name in United Nations history
 - Down
 - 1 Canon competitor
 - 2 2006 Andrea Bocelli album
 - 3 United Nations member since 1945
 - 4 Accept for payment
 - 5 Onetime owner of Capitol Records
 - 6 You'll see right through it
 - 7 Their blades remove water
 - 8 Earthy colour
 - 9 Place for les poissos
 - 10 1977 Steely Dan album
 - 11 Chorus of dissent
 - 12 Croatian capital
 - 13 Mocked
 - 14 Playing pieces
 - 15 Boulangerie buy
 - 16 Cold shower
 - 17 United Nations member since 1955
 - 19 "Hey Jude" snippet
 - 20 United Nations member since 1981
 - 23 Betrayed astonishment
 - 28 Copying
 - 31 Content of some cartridges
 - 33 Quake wreckage
 - 34 Errant shot
 - 35 After-dinner activity
 - 37 United Nations member since 1960

- 39 Singer Redbone
- 40 Has leftovers, say
- 41 Vividly depicted
- 42 Pinney wine
- 43 Modern pentathlon event
- 44 Dizzying visuals
- 48 "The Big Chill" co-writer/director Lawrence
- 49 Piedmont province
- 50 Guidebook features
- 51 Front covers?
- 52 Lothario's looks
- 53 Heredity unit
- 54 United Nations member since 1945
- 55 "The Burial of the Count of Orgaz" painter
- 56 Lack of radio activity?
- 59 Worn, as whitewalls
- 60 Prepare for a bout
- 62 Whole heap
- 63 Singly
- 64 Freeway features
- 67 Try to snatch
- 68 Spoke Siamese?
- 69 "Idylls of the King" lady
- 71 Coalition
- 72 Aquitania's setting
- 73 Collect
- 75 Smoke pipe
- 77 United Nations member since 1960
- 78 United Nations member since 1955
- 79 Trilogy in a single volume, e.g.
- 80 Worked out
- 81 Specialized fishermen
- 82 Ancient belts
- 84 Birth control pill brand
- 85 Game cube
- 86 Prepare for the fair, say
- 90 First-generation Japanese-American
- 92 Refuse
- 93 Left ventricle outlet
- 94 Attach, as a feed bag
- 95 Viewpoint
- 97 Stagger
- 99 Star of 1942's "Jungle Book"
- 102 Nest egg choice
- 104 Cribbage jack
- 105 Merited
- 106 "Moesha" network
- 107 Good deal



Acrostic | by Mike Shenk

To solve, write the answers to the clues on the numbered dashes. Then transfer each letter to the correspondingly numbered square in the grid to spell a quotation reading from left to right. Black squares separate words in the quotation. Work back and forth between the word list and the grid to complete the puzzle. When you're finished, the initial letters of the answers in the word list will spell the author's name and the source of the quotation.

- A. Boisterous presence
- B. Spirit that takes flight, e.g.
- C. Author of the 2013 novel "Bleeding Edge" (2 wds.)
- D. I could become this in Buckingham Palace (2 wds.)
- E. Resembling a fish
- F. Ben & Jerry's banana ice cream with fudge and walnuts (2 wds.)
- G. Unit of energy equal to 3.6 megajoules (Hyph.)
- H. Casper's ghost horse
- I. Orphan in an 1870 novel whose murder was left unsolved (2 wds.)
- J. Betraying anxiety, perhaps
- K. Part of a makeup job for playing Frankenstein's creature
- L. Trumpeter with the Top 40 hits "Java," "Cotton Candy" and "Sugar Lips" (2 wds.)

- M. Stock character of horror films (2 wds.)
- N. Solemnly wise in appearance
- O. 1946 Alfred Hitchcock film set in Rio de Janeiro
- P. Aram Khachaturian's "Masquerade," for one
- Q. Arizona's self-proclaimed "Town Too Tough to Die"
- R. Unpleasant odor or secretion
- S. New Mexico city whose Invaders play in baseball's Pecos League
- T. Stage name of country music's Harold Lloyd Jenkins (2 wds.)
- U. Ghostly figure
- V. Recurring theme
- W. Baltic nation that, as a 15th-century grand duchy, was Europe's largest country
- X. Character placed in a glass coffin after being poisoned (2 wds.)

►Get the solutions to this week's Journal Weekend Puzzles in next Saturday's Wall Street Journal. Solve crosswords and acrostics online, get pointers on solving cryptic puzzles and discuss all of the puzzles online at [WSJ.com/Puzzles](https://www.wsj.com/puzzles).

REVIEW

ICONS

Worlds Within Worlds

In a new exhibition, Ali Banisadr reflects on our moment in paintings that combine the hellish and the miraculous.

By Peter Saenger

As a boy in Tehran in the 1980s during the Iran-Iraq War, Ali Banisadr had a friend whose apartment building was sliced neatly in half by a bomb, revealing a cross-section of its interior. From the street, he could see the room where he had played, complete with wallpaper and children’s toys.

Born in 1976, Mr. Banisadr was 12 years old when his family moved to the U.S., but his tumultuous childhood still fuels his work as an artist. That is clear in his new show, which opened this week at the Wadsworth Athenaeum Museum of Art in Hartford, Conn., and includes a dozen paintings and



‘The Prophet’ (right) by artist Ali Banisadr (below).

prints made over the last five years. The references are as current as Covid-19 and the George Floyd protests, but Mr. Banisadr’s work is also rooted in art history. He often evokes the world of Hieronymus Bosch, creating large canvases thickly populated with creatures that are mixtures of human, animal and robot. The work of Bosch “never stops giving,” says Mr. Banisadr, “He had this way of zooming out and looking at the world from...a macro level,” showing “the folly of humanity in general. I’m in tune with that.”

The new exhibition is part of the Wadsworth’s Matrix series, which has given major contemporary artists like Gerhard Richter, Carrie Mae Weems and Barbara Kruger their first solo museum shows in the U.S. Patricia Hickson, a curator of contemporary art at the Wadsworth, observes that Mr. Banisadr’s work has a special mixture of timeliness and timelessness that puts him outside the mainstream: “I don’t really see him fitting into current trends,” she says.

To accompany his paintings, Mr. Banisadr

has curated a small exhibition of works from the Wadsworth’s collection, reflecting his deep awareness of art history. Among the items he chose are “The Temptation of St. Anthony,” by an unidentified 16th-century artist who used Boschian imagery; fantastic images by Francisco Goya and the Surrealist Max Ernst; and a woodblock print by the 19th-century Japanese artist Hiroshige. Mr. Banisadr says that he turns to these works for guidance, noting that when he makes a painting he wants “to see many different ways of painting...worlds within worlds.”

Mr. Banisadr’s canvases can be large—the most recent in the show is 10 feet wide—allowing him to contrast a hellish scene in the lower half of the painting with benign, even miraculous events in the upper half. In “The Prophet” (2020), a tiny inset at the bottom right—almost a picture in a picture, he says—shows crucified figures. Nearby, two creatures face off: One holds a stick covered at one end with what could be water or solid white material, while the other, the artist says, may have “some kind of mold or vegetation growing out of their body.”

Another part of the painting re-

flects its birth last spring, as the Covid-19 pandemic took hold in the U.S. A figure decked out in porcupine-like spikes is coughing little red droplets; next to it, candles seem to dance. In the top half of the picture, gold material explodes like a firework against a serene, blue background. Suspended above the convulsive scenes below, it looks like a “a sort of miracle,” Mr. Banisadr says. “I thought maybe that’s the prophet...something that’s going to change everything.”

Mr. Banisadr has been making art since childhood. After high school, he joined a group of young artists in San Francisco who inspired him to experiment. He went on to attend art school, and today he lives in Brooklyn, where he had a front-row seat for last summer’s unrest following the killing of George Floyd. The title of one of the new paintings in the show, “Only Breath,” echoes a plea for universality by the 13th-century Persian poet Rumi: “Not Christian or Jew or Muslim, not Hindu, Buddhist, Sufi, or Zen....first, last, outer, inner, only that breath breathing human being,” in Coleman Barks’s English rendering.

The title also evokes the breath that can transmit Covid-19, cries of

protest and Floyd’s dying plea that he couldn’t breathe. The painting’s main figure is purple and threatening. The picture “wanted to come out right away,” Mr. Banisadr. While he was working on it, the sounds of fireworks and chaos filled his home. When he glimpsed a police helicopter through his window, he immediately put it into the painting’s upper right corner.

Another painting in the show, “Red,” was completed before the pandemic struck but evolved in response to events. Originally intended for the Art Basel Hong Kong art fair, which was canceled in February because of Covid-19, “Red” had always depicted a perilous world, with a fire-alarm red sky and an eerie blue moon or sun. When the painting was returned to him from Hong Kong, Mr. Banisadr added a red-eyed figure, possibly made of coal, holding a shovel with a crown symbol—an allusion to the coronavirus.

Sound has an important place in Mr. Banisadr’s work. The memory of vibrations from bombs falling outside his basement shelter in Tehran started him on a career-long effort to translate sound into visual equivalents. In “Red,” for example, he imagines one figure’s head chiming like a bell, emitting little yellow crowns. Mr. Banisadr’s paintings begin with abstract colors, he says: “I know a figure needs to come out when I actually can hear it breathing.”



FROM TOP: COURTESY OF THE ARTIST AND KASMIN GALLERY, NEW YORK; DIEGO FLORES, COURTESY OF KASMIN GALLERY, NEW YORK

MASTERPIECE | ‘ALL THE KING’S MEN’ (1946), BY ROBERT PENN WARREN

A Political Novel For All Eras

By Michael Dirda

HALF A LIFETIME AGO, I read Robert Penn Warren’s “All the King’s Men,” and thought it just breathtakingly wonderful, so much so that I spent money I didn’t have to buy the 1946 first edition in a fine dust jacket. Last week I decided to reread it, partly because the book is widely viewed as our finest novel about American politics. How, I wondered, does this Pulitzer Prize winner look in the tumultuous fall of 2020?

Short answer: It’s still amazing. As many people know, if only from the Oscar-winning 1949 movie, this is the story of Willie Stark, fictional governor of an unnamed Southern state whose political career loosely recalls that of Louisiana’s real-life Huey Long. Narrated in 1939 by Stark’s chief lieutenant, Jack Burden, the book depicts the transformation of an idealistic backwoods hick into a consummate political operator. While chronicling the rise of “the Boss,” Jack—a former newspaperman and onetime Ph.D. candidate in American history—gradually reveals pieces of his own past, notably his memories of idyllic summers spent with his childhood friends, Adam and Anne Stanton. Structurally intricate, the novel effortlessly segues back and forth among various periods of the

1920s and ’30s, climaxing in a succession of shocks and revelations. When you finish “All the King’s Men,” you feel, like its surviving characters, that your soul has been tried in the furnace.

But when you start the book, the first thing you notice is Warren’s prose, which glories in its show-stopping, even showoffy magnificence and virtuosity. There are long, rolling sentences like coloratura arias and passages that would do a tent-preacher proud, as well as conversations among good ol’ boys that are sheer vulgar poetry, and, throughout, an irresistible narrative exuberance riding on an undercurrent of nostalgia and wistfulness. A smidgen of the book’s style can be heard when the Boss orders Jack to dig up some dirt on the upright Judge Irwin. What if there isn’t any? Not possible, says Willie: “Man is conceived in sin and born in corruption and he passeth from the stink of the didie to the stench of the shroud. There is always something.”

Willie Stark rises to power by reminding small-town yokels that he is one of them. He learns to retain power, however, through favors, deals, bribes, threats and blackmail. When one of his appointees turns greedy, he “fixes” the offender so well that “his unborn great-grandchildren will wet their pants on this

anniversary and not know why.” When threatened with impeachment, Willie rallies his supporters for a raucous protest march on the capital. He even installs his own yes-men on the state’s Supreme Court. And yet, above all else, this sweating, blubber-lipped rascal yearns to build a completely free, absolutely state-of-the-art hospital.

In this, Willie is utterly sincere. He truly wants to help folks who never got anything but promises from previous elected officials, especially ineffectual, lily-white Southern aristocrats. Unlike them, Willie is willing to get his hands dirty, sometimes very dirty. Thus Warren raises that most fundamental of political questions: Do the ends justify the means? Is Willie Stark a redneck demagogue who regularly flouts the rule of law? Or is he, as all the most sympathetic characters in the book maintain, a great man?

Not that he isn’t a flawed human being: Willie cheats on his schoolteacher wife, crows about the gridiron prowess of his oafish son, and shows himself to be nothing if not ambitious, already envisioning a run for the presidency. He emerges, in short, as that ambiguous American archetype: The romantic dreamer with a ruthless core. “All the King’s Men” belongs on the



A scene from the 1949 film version of the book.

same shelf as “The Great Gatsby” and “The Godfather.” To enlarge his book’s scope Warren surrounds Willie and Jack with a picture gallery of Southern “types”: a street-corner evangelist; an aging, much-married belle; a hardscrabble dame with Machiavellian political savvy; an almost saintly doctor. Today’s readers, however, will notice that the only Black characters are nameless “colored” servants. Still, Jack’s transcription of a pre-Civil War diary does partly confront the South’s racist past. In it a slave learns the truth about her master’s death, with consequences that underscore the brutality and horror of her condition.

I mention Jack Burden so often because much of this story is also

his. The account of how he and Anne Stanton fell in love and then lost each other may be the most lyrically beautiful piece of writing in all American literature. When Jack does uncover “something” about Judge Irwin, he also learns something about his own past and, following a time of sorrows, frees himself from recurrent existential despair.

Almost 75 years have now passed since “All the King’s Men” first appeared, yet Warren’s book continues to deserve its reputation as a great American political novel. And actually, it’s something even better: a great American novel, period.

Mr. Dirda is a Pulitzer Prize-winning book columnist for the Washington Post.

THE LIFE IMAGES COLLECTION VIA GETTY IMAGES



Step Lively
Five of our favorite new booster stools
D9

OFF DUTY

Knit Decision
Is a polo-collar sweater stylish or stodgy?
D2



FASHION | FOOD | DESIGN | TRAVEL | GEAR

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

Saturday/Sunday, October 24 - 25, 2020 | **D1**

PERSONAL TECH IN 2020

Left to Our Own Devices

Our reliance on technology while isolated at home these past months—whether Zooming into weddings or FaceTiming with doctors—has forever altered our relationship to gadgets. Here, 20 ways that 2020 changed the digital landscape.

JANUARY



We played a lot of Candy Crush—hours upon hours, if we're being honest.

FEBRUARY



We got our tickets scanned for 'Sonic the Hedgehog,' unaware it would be the last movie we'd see.

MARCH



As life turned upside down, we nervously documented our emergency supply of Charmin.

APRIL



We found those Zoom happy hours to be quite the novelty.

MAY



Those 4-hour Zoom meetings with our co-workers? Far less thrilling.

JUNE



We downloaded Venmo just so we could buy extra-delicious fresh radishes at the farmers market.

JULY



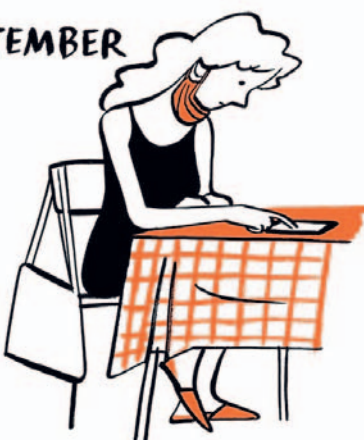
We read too much news, and quelled anxiety with online workout classes. Often at the same time.

AUGUST



With actual meetups on hold, virtual dates turned into virtual relationships.

SEPTEMBER



We ate out, finally—relying on tech to avoid touching a menu. At last, appetizers again!

OCTOBER



We had e-appointments with pixelated doctors. Were we pixelated too?

NOVEMBER



With Thanksgiving approaching, we took way too many online cooking classes.

DECEMBER



The perfect gift after nine months of noisy neighbors? Festive noise-cancelling headphones.

By MATTHEW KITCHEN

WHEN AMERICANS were sent home from offices in early March, many thought it would be for a few weeks. A month, tops. But as that timeline stretched into summer and now 2021, we've relied ever more on technology to remain informed, entertained and fed; to fight the WFH weight gain; to stay connected in novel, sometimes intriguing, sometimes vexing, ways. "We've witnessed that there's a tech solve for each of our disruptions: shopping, therapy, concerts, drinking, games, you

name it," said Matt Klein, director of strategy for Sparks & Honey, a consultancy that studies cultural trends. "Are these experiences exact replicas? No. But it paints an optimistic future." Here are 20 ways that 2020 altered our relationship with tech devices, possibly for years to come.

1. WE LOOKED AT LITTLE BUT SCREENS.

Between squinting at spreadsheets, bingeing Netflix's "Tiger King" (twice) and doom-scrolling news on Twitter, we've become a species whose devices are our primary, if not quite sole, view on the outside world. According to a survey commissioned by optical retailer Vision Direct, people's

average daily screen time has ballooned to more than 19 hours a day when accounting for viewing multiple devices at once (you know who you are). If this pace continues, a newborn with an average life expectancy will spend nearly 58 years bathed in the glow of laptops, smartphones, televisions and whatever screens 2048 brings. If this hurts your eyes just thinking about it, you're not alone: Google searches for blue-light-blocking glasses have tripled since this spring.

2. OUR COUCHES BECAME (SOFT) OFFICES.

History's greatest work-from-home pilot program

Please turn to page D10

Inside



TAKE TAKE-OUT TO THE NEXT LEVEL
In survival mode, restaurants are elevating the concept of 'to go' **D7**



GREAT GOTH
Why this classic novel overshadows the new Netflix adaptation **D4**



TRENDING...ON THE COUCH
A WFH fashion lover test-drives four fall runway looks **D3**



GREEN IS GOOD...
...if you know how much is enough when it comes to décor **D8**

JOÃO FAZENDA (ILLUSTRATIONS)

STYLE & FASHION

By JACOB GALLAGHER

IN THE PANDEMIC’S early months, jeans appeared to be down for the count. Stretch-waisted loungewear became the daily uniform for many Americans who were suddenly fielding Zoom calls from home. Unsurprisingly, there was a marked uptick in sales in the men’s sweatpants and loungewear categories as we all sheltered in place. People were buying clothes to satisfy their new stay-at-home lifestyles.

Meanwhile, jeans sales tumbled. Levi’s revenue dropped 62% in the quarter that ended on May 24 compared with the year before. According to the NPD Group, a market research firm, jeans sales fell by double-digits from March through May. All summer on Twitter, work-from-homers giddily declared that they were never going to wear “hard pants” again.

That didn’t last. In recent months, sales of jeans—particularly men’s jeans—have ticked up as the sentimental favorites resurfaced in our weekly wardrobes. But after spending months luxuriating in the freedom of sweats, many men want jeans with some of their laid-back attributes—denim that’s softer and incorporates stretch for a liberating fit. They don’t want their calves boa-constricted in the skinny jeans of yore; the most compelling new pairs have a natural, straight fit.

Maria Rugolo, an analyst at NPD, attributed climbing denim sales to the return to quasi-normalcy that’s seen Americans trickling back into office buildings again, no longer conducting business solely through waist-up video calls. Even some still working from home have tired of slovenliness. “For the first couple of months, I was a bit like, ‘OK, I’m just going to roll out of bed and wear whatever I went to bed in,’” said Blake Egan, 26, who works in tech sales in Seattle. In recent weeks, he’s reverted to the reliable OrSlow jeans he once wore to the office. “I like to get dressed for the day. It gives you a sense of structure and personality.”

After spending months luxuriating in liberating sweats, many men want jeans that share some attributes with leisurewear.

The change of seasons has also driven us back to denim. In March, Zack Kaufer, 29, a licensing manager for a theatrical publishing company, cast aside his Gap jeans in favor of shorts while working from his mother’s house in sweltering Los Angeles. On returning to his New York apartment in August, just before summer temperatures stumbled into the low 60s, he also reclaimed his fall-appropriate jeans (which he could fortunately still fit into comfortably, despite months of inactivity). “I went out to do some errands yesterday and I put them on...I’m not swearing off jeans by any means,” he said.

In the wake of the great sweatpants surge, many men are rethinking jeans—prioritizing comfort and shunning slim fits. Immanuel Sodipe, 24, who recently lost his job in Chicago as a researcher for a Midwest labor union, has been enjoying a pair with a smidge of stretch he found on sale at Uniqlo earlier this year. He finds them unstiffling, a relief after years of trying to slide his thighs into stiff denim.

Sales of stretch jeans were already on the upswing before the summer of sweatpants and, with the quest for comfort, are expected to keep rising. NPD’s Ms. Rugolo noted that stretch jeans now make up 23% of the men’s jeans market, compared to 19% a year ago: “There’s a lot of opportunity there.”

Men are also welcoming wider cuts. Zachary Pavone, 27, a job coach at a special needs

Rebirth of the Blues

During lockdown, men cast stiff jeans aside, relying on looser, lazier sweats and gym shorts. This fall, denim—tweaked to be more comfortable and woo us back—is worth reaching for again.



VICTORIA TENTER-KRYLOV (ILLUSTRATION)

Just-Right Jeans

A duo of denim styles that will please anyone who wants a traditional look with WFH-era ease.



A Once-Washed Option

Made in slightly softened selvedge. OrSlow Jeans, \$280, shopcanooclub.com



A Stretch-Infused Classic

A more comfortable version of the 501 cut introduced in 1993. Jeans, \$90, levi.com

school in Fairfield, N.J., wears vintage Levi’s 501s, a straight-ish cut that considerably accommodates calves and knees. “I like things that just drape on me and are a little bit on the relaxed side,” he said of his wider jeans. He’s right on trend, according to a new analysis from the investment bank UBS, which notes that “the consumer, after roughly 10 years of buying mostly skinny jeans, is now showing an appetite for new silhouettes.” The Saran-tight skinny jeans that hipsters had to have in the early 2000s and that have lingered since might soon be a dim memory.

Inky dark denim might also be slipping into the shadows. For the past decade plus, denim aficionados have sought out unwashed, stiff-as-a-brick jeans that you must break in with almighty effort. Diligent denim-heads will endure, said Bruce Pask, men’s fashion director at Bergdorf Goodman and Neiman Marcus, but he believes that “the average customer” today wants to wear jeans “when they’re soft already.” He pointed to jeans that are “once-washed,” a process that leaves them with a more tender feel.

The recent runway shows in Europe also gave Mr. Pask confidence that denim will handily evolve to survive: He called out the very ’70s sky-blue Levi’s 517 jeans that Valentino debuted last month in Milan. Their light wash, he speculates, is something many can get behind. As for their bootcut design, so evocative of Farrah Fawcett? That might take some convincing.

FAST FIVE

Cool Around The Collar

Once reserved for the country-club set, the polo-collar sweater has shed its stuffy reputation thanks to some fresh, Zoom-friendly fall updates

THE POLO-COLLAR sweater has long been favored by elder statesmen and members of fusty golf clubs. But this fall, designers have modernized the easy-to-wear classic, offering collared knits in snazzy shades, lively patterns (see Italian brand Missoni’s intarsia iteration, at left) and loose, comfortable weaves. Wear yours to tone down a splashy pair of printed pants or simply team it with some slick slacks and loafers, as the decidedly un-stodgy Italian industrialist Gianni Agnelli did while striding to his yacht during an Amalfi Coast vacation with Jackie O. and Lee Radziwill in 1962. Even if you’re not cruising the coast of southern Italy, a polo knit is a smart style move—this sharp and cozy pullover will impress even your most critical colleagues on those daily video calls.



POLO RAGAZZO Gianni Agnelli epitomized sprezzatura while wearing a polo knit on the Amalfi Coast with Jacqueline Kennedy (center) and Lee Radziwill (left) in 1962.

A button-free taupe take in autumnal-hued Italian mohair blend. Shirt, *about \$300*, sefromline.com



Chevrons distinguish cream wool. Jil Sander Sweater, \$850, matchesfashion.com



A sportily striped style in extra-fine Merino. Shirt, \$310, johnsmedley.com



If your taste runs to painterly patterns. Missoni Shirt, \$770, mrporter.com



A simple olive option in a Merino blend. Sweater, \$50, uniqlo.com



STYLE & FASHION

TEST DRIVE

‘I Tried Some Weird Gloves’

One writer tests four fall runway looks to learn which—if any—might actually make sense for our new socially distant lives

By CHRISTINE LENNON

WAY BACK IN the Pleistocene era, when I and other magazine editors were required to wear high heels every day, I would watch racks of trend-forward clothing roll down the hall at work and think of the dinner party scene in “Beetlejuice.” As the character Delia Deetz, Catherine O’Hara wore aggressively fashionable, all-black outfits imagined by director Tim Burton and costume designer Aggie Guerard Rodgers. Incorporating razor-sharp angles and millinery that obscured her vision, her look was expensive, outlandish and fun. To this day, when I see capital-F Fashion, I remember Delia and her dinner guests, who took themselves very seriously until they were forced to dance to a Harry Belafonte song.

Confession: My pandemic-shrunk life more closely resembles that of Geena Davis’s “Beetlejuice” character: a ghost locked for eternity in her own home, garbed in simple cotton dresses and sometimes a calico apron. To my Covid-era mind, this season’s Deetz-ian runway trends, including pale leather opera gloves and ballooning sleeves, seem even more like theater costumes than they do functional clothing.

To be clear, I’m not mocking them. I long for a shot of glamour, and for fashion to return in its full, impractical, joyous glory. Incorporating some bolder trends into my rotation of denim and oversize button-downs could check off a few boxes on my “Improve Your Life” to-do list, too—offering me distraction from the mountain of grief and grim current affairs, a good reason to leave the house and an excellent excuse to not wash a single dish for a while, because, you know, *I’m wearing gloves*.

I borrowed four major fall trends and took them for a spin: heavy fringe, exaggerated puff sleeves, skirt suits and opera gloves. The goal was to see if and how they would work in my current life in Southern California, a steady rotation of yard-work, writing, cooking, cleaning, reading, managing 13-year-old twins’ schooling from home, Zooming, fixing up a rustic house in Santa Barbara county, seeing friends in their backyards or from a safe distance at the beach, occasional takeout and working very hard not to lose my mind. I started with fringe.



PUFF PIECE Ms. Lennon dons some pumped-up sleeves while sipping coffee at her California home. Shirt, \$295, [sea-ny.com](#)

Flapperish Fringe

When I first unzipped the Prada garment bag and saw the substantial fringe belt and oversize underpants that had been described as a “skirt” and the accompanying cashmere-blend blazer, I thought, “I don’t have a mask for this.” Or a place to wear it. I’d spent the day puzzling over a broken water heater and something called an Incinoret, an electric toilet that incinerates waste, in a fixer-upper of a house that my husband and I bought as a retreat. I texted an old, dear friend who agreed to meet me for a socially distanced drink on the terrace at the Belmond El Encanto hotel, known for its sweeping views of the Santa Barbara harbor and well-heeled guests in cashmere separates. I put on the belt/skirt with a long white button-down I cinched at the waist with an odd pill-box fanny pack, also Prada. “I’ll be the one who isn’t wearing pants,” I explained to my friend. As I pulled into the valet line, something I hadn’t done since early March, I worried about flashing the parking attendant, something I hadn’t done since the mid-1990s. In the lobby bar, some women in chic, pale denim and sparkly sandals looked twice, mostly out of curiosity (I hope). The heavy black fringe felt cool and silky against my bare legs. When the temperature dipped below 65, the jacket felt sturdy and cozy, like a much-needed hug. My friend said she was reminded of the flapper costumes we once wore to a mobster-themed fraternity party decades ago. If this fringe-skirt trend is a sign that we’re headed for a Roaring Twenties reboot post-pandemic, then I’ll take it, happily.

Imposing Puff Sleeves Next, I opened a box containing two black, structured puff-sleeve tops from Sea New York, which were a slightly more somber pivot. My first thought: “This, I can do.” For one, the sleeves’ volume (they’re huge) and modest neckline felt vaguely Amish, which is my speed, in general. And the thick, black cotton with a touch of stretch was easy to move in. Same goes



GLOVE, NO LOVE? The author wields a leaf blower while wearing opera gloves in an amphibian print. Gloves, \$375, [Marine Serre](#), +33-1-42-21-05-37

for the giant sleeves, which were barely noticeable when I was running errands, until I had to reach for my seat belt and they got in the way. When I zipped up one of the shirts, I couldn’t shake the feeling that I was putting on very stylish mourning clothes, which felt sadly on point. Sometimes fashion is a celebration, and other times it’s social commentary. Wearing this long-sleeved black shirt with my face covered in a mask, even with a pair of slim-cut jeans to the Whole Foods and the hardware store, felt like a statement on our times.

Escapist Opera Gloves The gloves felt less sensible, and shoving my slightly rough, un-manicured hands into them was a multifold challenge. A) I had to think about my hands. (Dear cuticles, I’m sorry.) B) Wearing

them made performing any of the tasks that fill my days—making specialty lunches for my home-schooling kids, washing endless dishes, commenting on social media, digging out dead rosemary bushes—impossible. C) They felt ridiculous. Then the lightbulb appeared over my head. No doom-scrolling? No dishes? So many of the things making me miserable were put on hold for as long as I wore the gloves. It was a revelation. I slipped into a Marine Serre pair that extends above my elbows and is covered in a tiny black salamander print, then I drove down the 101 at sunset with the windows down, smiling to myself, taking comfort in the fact that the world is still a place where tiny-salamander gloves are designed, made, sold and purchased. Weirdly, it felt like relief.

Assertive Skirt Suits The final trend in the mix was nostalgic for me. When my twins were toddlers and a behavioral situation devolved to the point where it felt like they were staging a coup, I would reassert my authority by sternly saying, “I used to have an assistant! I ran an entire department!” They had no idea what I was talking about. But reminding myself of the days when I wore skirt suits to an office made me feel more in command. Putting on a gorgeous wool Max Mara suit felt like visiting an old friend or mentor. The skirt was a little short for me—I’m a believer that no one should be forced to show their knees in public. But the jacket’s fit was perfection and it helped create that illusion of control. Who doesn’t need a little help in that department right now?



An Authoritative Skirt Suit



A ‘Skirt’ of Fringe

THE OTHER STYLES ON TRIAL

From Left: Jacket, \$1,590, Skirt, \$645, [maxmara.com](#); Jacket, \$3,550, Skirt, \$1,830, [Prada](#), 212-664-0010

SeaQ Panorama Date

Dive into the Original



Glashütte
ORIGINAL

[glashuette-original.com](#) German Watchmaking Art since 1845.

WEMPE
40
YEARS
New York

700 FIFTH AVENUE & 55TH STREET • NEW YORK • 212.397.9000
Hamburg Berlin Munich Dusseldorf Frankfurt London Madrid Paris Vienna

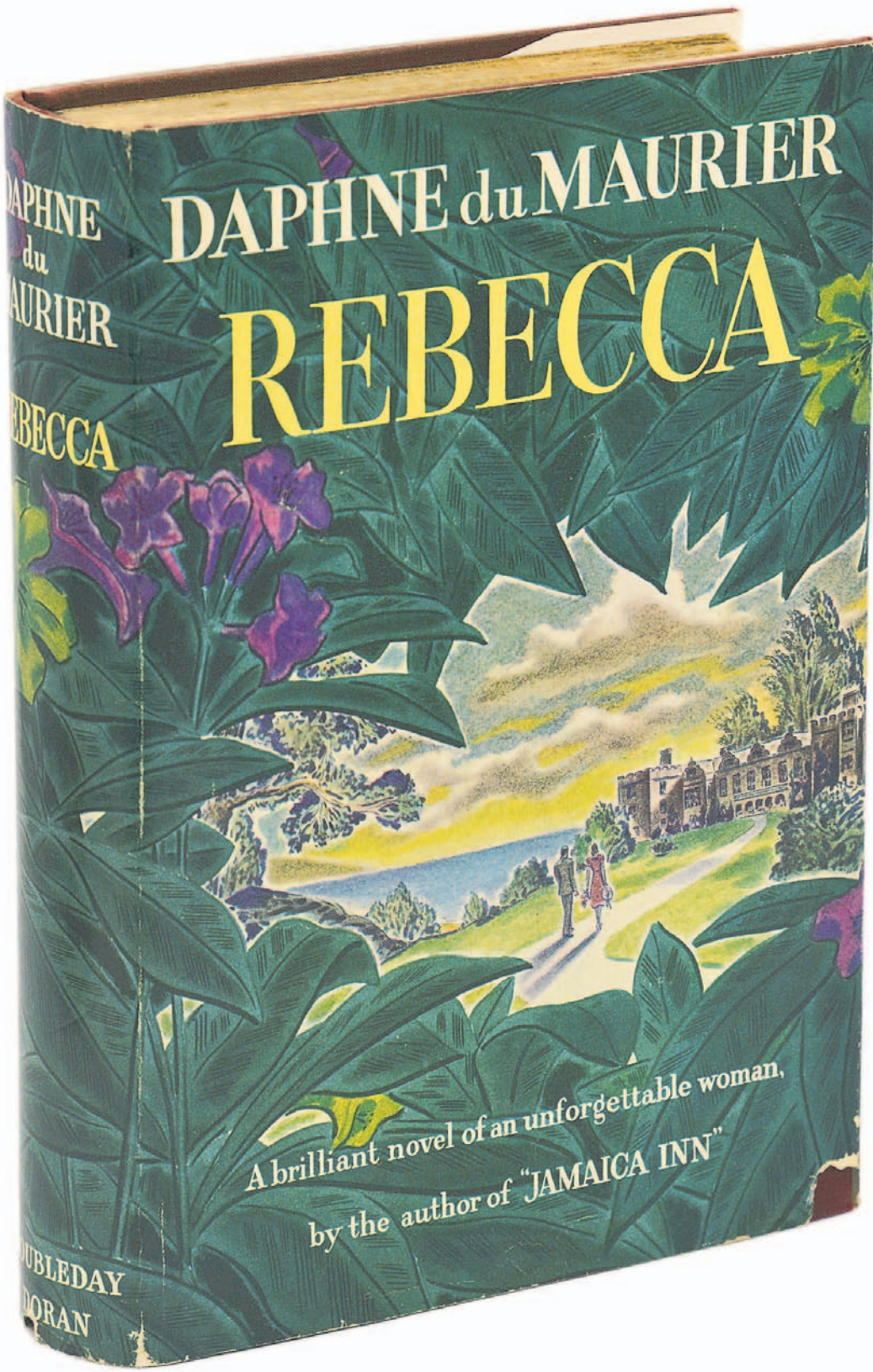
ADVENTURE & TRAVEL

By Donna Bulseco

IF YOU’VE NEVER read Daphne du Maurier’s “Rebecca,” you’re in for a surprise. Initially dismissed by critics as women’s romance fiction, this 1938 bestseller delivers plot twists, promiscuity, dark secrets and, best of all, backstabbing servants. But it’s since been celebrated by feminist scholars for its critique of gender roles. On the surface, it tells the story of a mousy young woman—the traveling companion to a nosy American matron—who meets the wealthy and withholding widower Maxim de Winter while he’s on holiday in Monte Carlo, and marries him. When the trembling bride arrives at Manderley, his British estate, she realizes how little she knows about her new husband and his first wife, Rebecca, who died in a boating accident less than a year earlier and is still worshiped by many in the house and the community.

The novel begins in a dream state. “Last night I dreamed I went to Manderley again,” writes our narrator, the second Mrs. de Winter (we never learn her first name) on awaking at a “dull” hotel hundreds of miles away from the stately manor. Though in her nightmare, the house was overrun with “malevolent ivy,” she recalls that Manderley is “no more” and recounts what happened, setting the plot in motion. In this tale of betrayal, du Maurier echoed the tropes of gothic novels: ruined castles, haunted houses and a damsel very much in distress.

Adaptations, like Alfred Hitchcock’s moody 1940 classic, have mined the book’s atmospheric mix of untamed nature and voyeurism. “Sometimes I wonder,” whispers Mrs. Danvers, the conniving head housekeeper, to the newlywed, “if [Rebecca] comes back here and watches you and Mr. de Winter together.” The newest version, a sparkling Netflix take (premiering Oct. 21), surfaces the novel’s glamour and gloom quotient, with Kristin Scott Thomas giving Mrs. Danvers a twitchy dominatrix vibe opposite Lily James and Armie Hammer as the doomed new couple.



DESIGN
Haunted corridors
The trappings of grandeur are evident, from the winding staircase and massive ballroom to a long drawing room, “beautifully proportioned, looking out upon the lawns down to the sea.” The well-appointed interior has the formality of a museum and “an ancient mossy smell”; ghosts seemingly haunt the mazelike corridors (shown), which confuse the second Mrs. de Winter, who gets lost her first day there. Everywhere she turns she feels spied upon: From the moment she enters the great stone hall and gazes up at the minstrel’s portrait gallery, she feels “a sea of faces, open-mouthed and curious, gazing at me as if they were the watching crowd.”



LOCAL CUSTOMS
A strategic socialite
It’s easy to make a case for Rebecca as an astute influencer, even with a dearth of technological innovation (there’s a telephone, that’s it). She knew how to develop a brand, with monogrammed visiting cards and a household crest; in a leather journal (shown), she detailed each event and “what visitors had come and gone, the rooms they had used, the food they had eaten.” An exemplary hostess, she knows how to generate praise and avert gossip and offers her charisma in trade for the freedom to live on her own terms, as Maxim de Winter recounts: “‘I’ll run your house for you,’ she told me, ‘I’ll look after your precious Manderley for you, make it the most famous showplace in all the country... And people will...envy us, and talk about us; they’ll say we are the luckiest, happiest, handsomest couple in all England.’”



LOCALES
A claustrophobic seacoast
In the early Monte Carlo scenes, du Maurier conveys the elation the young narrator feels on the French Riviera. “I remember opening wide my window and leaning out...the sun had never seemed so bright, nor the day so full of promise.” Her mood turns claustrophobic at Manderley, where she feels hemmed in by encroaching woods and the dark sea. A stark contrast to Monte Carlo, Manderley seems as alive as any character in the novel. Its inspiration was Menabilly, a crumbling 16th-century ancestral estate on the rugged south coast of Cornwall, England (shown), where the writer lived for over two decades. Even Mother Nature seems to mock our narrator: At the front door she recoils from the profusion of monstrous rhododendrons, “their crimson faces...slaughterous red, luscious and fantastic.”

TRANSPORTING READ

An Autumn Chill

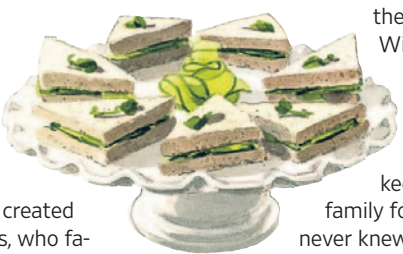
A new adaptation of ‘Rebecca,’ the 1930s psychological thriller set on the magnificently moody British seascape, debuts on Netflix this week. But the book itself yields an even more tantalizing escape.

FASHION
Sartorial strife
The second Mrs. de Winter is no clotheshorse, unlike the dead Rebecca, who apparently outclassed everyone when it came to looks (“the most beautiful creature I ever saw in my life,” spouts a clueless friend to the newlywed). The bride of seven weeks disparages herself as “unsuitably dressed as usual” in “a tan stockinette frock, a small fur known as a stone marten [shown] round my neck, and...a shapeless mackintosh, far too big for me and dragging to



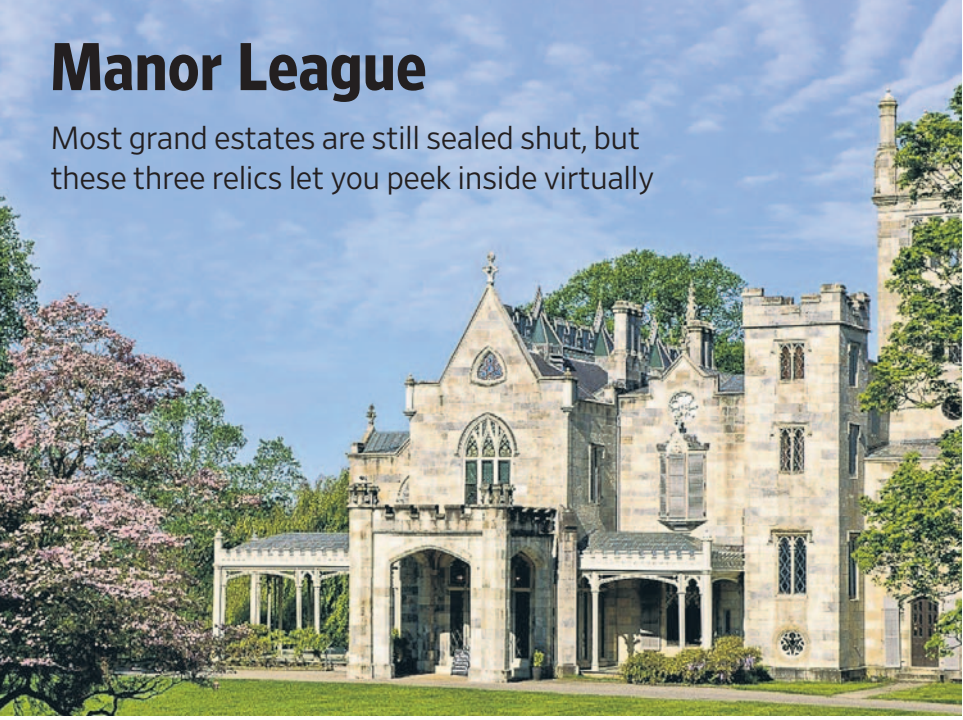
my ankles.” Daily, Mrs. Danvers reminds the narrator of Rebecca’s chic style. Once, she catches the newlywed snooping around her predecessor’s bedroom, fingering the deceased’s apricot satin nightgown. “Feel it, hold it,” Mrs. Danvers creepily taunts. “I haven’t washed it since she wore it for the last time.” Later, the hateful housekeeper engineers a humiliating episode by suggesting the narrator copy an elegant white gown in a family portrait to wear to a costume ball.

FOOD
Party fare
Days at Manderley involve highly orchestrated meals. The menus are created by Mrs. Danvers, who favors an odd mix of dishes, such as watercress sandwiches (shown), chicken in aspic, curried prawns, roast veal, asparagus, and cold chocolate mousse, delivered by a coterie of servants. The offerings at mealtime or tea often seem like an excessive amount for two, and du Maurier underscores that idea by describing the discomfort



the second Mrs. de Winter feels eyeing a lavish spread. “There was enough food there to keep a starving family for a week. I never knew what happened to it all, and the waste used to worry me sometimes.” Party fare is even more excessive and show-offy, reflecting the disparity between Mr. de Winter and the less-monied guests at his costume ball; the aristocrat disdainfully watches them heap “plates high with salmon and lobster mayonnaise,” without indulging himself.

BURNSIDE RARE BOOKS; MATTHEW COOK (ILLUSTRATIONS)

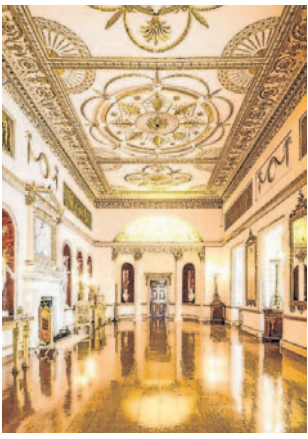


Manor League

Most grand estates are still sealed shut, but these three relics let you peek inside virtually

Super Bowl
Named after the linden trees planted on its vast 67-acre estate, Lyndhurst in Tarrytown, N.Y., is a turreted Gothic Revival mansion designed by Alexander Jackson Davis in 1838 for William Paulding, a former New York City mayor. Go room by room viewing the home’s artwork and antiques in a virtual tour, or peruse by collection (choose ‘Furniture’ for the Rococo revival sofas and Tiffany Studio lamps). Do a lap-top ‘stroll’ through its bowling pavilion or tour the grounds (\$10) through Nov. 22. [lyndhurst.org](#)

Empty Nest
Historical mansions often have complex linages. Petworth House, a Baroque estate in West Sussex (one of eight houses used in Netflix’s “Re-



THIS OLD HOUSE From left: Lyndhurst; Syon House.

becca”) has its own downloadable family tree so virtual guests can glean who lived there (and when). Almost as posh as Versailles, its galleries hold inestimable riches, including works by Titian, Gainsbor-

ough and Turner. [national-trust.org.uk](#)
Star Quality
About 10 miles from London, Syon House has been in the Duke of Northumberland’s family for over 400 years. In the 18th century, the estate went through a complete refresh, its formal gardens transformed by landscape architect Lancelot “Capability” Brown, while rooms were rethought by Scottish architect Robert Adam with antiquities shipped in from Italy. The website documents its impressive list of screen credits, from “Killing Eve” to Disney’s “Alice Through the Looking Glass,” all of which the curious can view. (Pity there’s no link to David Cassidy’s 1973 “Daydreamer” music video.) [syonpark.co.uk](#) —D.B.

ADVENTURE & TRAVEL

20 ODD QUESTIONS

Luca Guadagnino

The Italian director of the HBO miniseries ‘We Are Who We Are’ on his many crushes

FILMMAKERS KNOW the power of a close-up, and Luca Guadagnino has created iconic ones: lovelorn Timothée Chalamet at the end of the 2017 film “Call Me By Your Name” comes to mind, or a blue-eyed Tilda Swinton in a climactic moment in 2015’s “A Bigger Splash.” When the 49-year-old director appears up close himself via a Zoom call from Spain, he seems ebullient and astute, despite lopsided glasses (“Ahh, I broke them this week!”) and an intense day of activities as the president of the San Sebastián Film Festival jury. “Right now I’m immersed in discovery,” he said. That excitement is hard won for Mr. Guadagnino, who spent spring quarantined in Milan, lost his father in May and saw his relationship dissolve. “My dear, I am helpless—my partner of 11 years left me and I have a crush on him, still.” Yet there is much to celebrate. His timely HBO miniseries “We Are Who We Are” focuses on two teens questioning their gender orientation, but transcends coming-of-age tropes: All the characters grapple with social and racial pressures within the confines of an American military base in Italy. Next, the Palermo-born director has been tapped to direct “Scarface” from a Coen brothers’ script and will develop “Lord of the Flies” for Warner Bros. These are not “remakes,” insists Mr. Guadagnino, pointing out that both previous takes on “Scarface,” by Howard Hawks and Brian De Palma, “exist in their own legendary space.” Here, Mr. Guadagnino shares his teenage obsessions, favorite hotels and the menu for his last supper.

When I was a teenager, I used to: hang out alone. I was mostly thinking, daydreaming, watching people, watching movies and reading books.

My first crush ever was: Jeff Bridges in “Starman.”

My favorite music at 16 was: Kate Bush. Her songs “Cloudbusting” and “Eat the Music” are fantastic.

My mom was: a fierce woman and very protective of her family, with a kind of overprotectiveness that was good. For example, when I gave a catalog of Robert Mapplethorpe pictures to a classmate turning 18, her mother called my mom screaming that it was pornography, that she was going to throw it in the garbage. My mom said, “Well, that is a great

art book, so please send it to us because we want it in our library!”

A hotel I would most like to quarantine in is: the Bristol in Paris or Claridge’s in London. I know it’s a rarefied environment and I feel lucky to go but I have built a relationship with people there that I like.

An island I would escape to is: Smögen, off the coast of Sweden.

A beach I like is: None. I hate the heat; I don’t like crowds. I’m not relaxed being out naked in the public air; beaches are not for me.

The most memorable meal I’ve had this year was: probably the one I will have at Mugaritz [just outside] San Sebastián tomorrow

but also my meal at Ristorante Reale in Abruzzo. [Chef] Niko Romito celebrated his 20th anniversary there with a menu of 20 dishes. The meal progressed from spaghetti with tomato to his fantastic aubergine.

A movie I’ve seen at least three times is: any by Jonathan Demme.

The book I reread every so often is: “Iraq: The Borrowed Kettle” by



Karen Allen and Jeff Bridges in 1984’s ‘Starman.’

Slavoj Žižek. At least most recently.

My last meal on earth would be: bread and milk.

Or to be more precise: Michetta, a white crusty bread which workers in Milan eat on breaks. I’d break the michetta into a bowl of hot whole milk and maybe add coffee.

A favorite cocktail is: gin and tonic with Monkey 47 gin. I’m a bit old-fashioned.

My current design obsession is: anything from [French furniture designer] Eugène Printz. That’s what I’m in love with. I don’t own any but maybe one day I will. I do have a wonderful square poker table with four chairs by Guglielmo Ulrich.

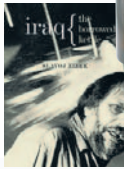
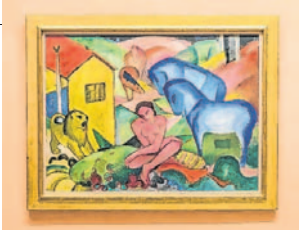
When the U.S. border reopens, the first city I’ll visit might be: Los Angeles—whenever I go there, I go to Sushi Park. But it’s a tossup. I’ve only been to New Orleans once, but I love it. Or New York: I walk in Central Park every time I’m there.

European cities I love include: Munich and Stockholm. I’m often in London and Paris for work and for friendships.

A museum I’d like to revisit is: Thyssen-Bornemisza in Madrid. I spent six months in Madrid in 2004 and went there a lot. I was quite alone and a bit sad in that period of my life, and every time I went I felt cured of my melancholy. I wonder if I should go back there now. —*Edited from an interview by Donna Bulseco*



THE HOPELESS ROMANTIC Clockwise from above: Luca Guadagnino in Milan; Franz Marc’s ‘The Dream’ at the Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum; carrots and kombucha at Mugaritz; Monkey 47 gin; Slavoj Žižek’s ‘Iraq: The Borrowed Kettle’; the Swedish island of Smögen



You don’t have to fly far to feel a world away.



Bermuda is open and ready to welcome you safely. This 21-square mile island with fresh ocean breezes, wide-open spaces, and genuine hospitality awaits.

BERMUDA
GoToBermuda.com

EATING & DRINKING



Queen of Tortes

San Francisco pastry chef
Michelle Polzine injects
California sunshine into classic
Central European pastries

A FINE ARRANGEMENT To create the signature lattice on this classic Linzer torte, you merely crisscross the strips of dough. No need to weave them.

By Jonathan Kauffman

THE DAY Michelle Polzine received the first bound copy of her book, “Baking at the 20th Century Cafe” (Artisan), she celebrated by donning a purple 1930s ballgown to sit at her dining room table and thumb through the culmination of a decade’s work. She specializes in baked goods from across the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, ren-

dered in Northern California flavors. Until the pandemic hit this spring, lucky diners at the marble-topped tables of her 20th Century Cafe in San Francisco would watch Ms. Polzine stretch strudel dough until it was translucent. Nearly six feet tall, she wears her vividly orange hair in a classical Hollywood coif, with clothes sewn nearly a century ago. She’s a 1980s punk kid possessed by the spirit of a screwball-comedy actress, incisive and smart. She earned her first James Beard Award nomination at the San Francisco bistro Range,

where her desserts centered on seasonal fruit. Curious about Central European pastries, she traveled to Prague, Vienna and Budapest with the goal of dressing up to eat fancy cake. First stop: Café Imperial in Prague, where she ate apple strudel off gold-rimmed china in a magnificent Art Nouveau room. She tasted her way through the region’s classics—Linzer torte, Kókusz torta, Esterházy schnitten—wearing a different vintage outfit to each cafe. “Everything was dense and intensely flavored, but with all these different textures,”

she said. Pastry chefs in the U.S. were separating each flavor into its own component, with swirls and dollops on the plate. Bakers of Central European cakes and tortes layered all that complexity into each glorious forkful. The classic pastries matched her own approach: Underpromise and overdeliver. “A dish should look unassuming, and then when you eat it, you ask yourself: Why is this so good? What is happening here?” she said. Ms. Polzine accumulated old cookbooks and played with recipes dozens of times to adapt traditional pastries to her palate, with Northern California ingredients and less sugar. “I’m a food listener,” she said. “I just pay attention and do what the dish tells me to do.” Aided by friends and family, Ms. Polzine renovated a former laundromat to open 20th Century Cafe. Her bagels were among the city’s best. Her strudel crackled on the tongue. Her honey cake, whose 10 slim layers alternate with a mixture of whipped cream, burnt honey and dulce de leche, became one of San Francisco’s most celebrated desserts. For the book, she partnered with author Jessica Battilana to translate what the chef jokingly calls “the patented Michelle Polzine secret fanciness” into recipes for home cooks. The book’s publication this month is a bright spot in a year of almost unbearable disasters. Ms. Polzine had surgery for ovarian cancer this spring; she was barely out of the hospital when the pandemic shut down San Francisco’s economy. Her husband’s younger brother died in an accident two months later. Though the cafe has reopened for takeout a few days a week, its future is overshadowed by anxiety. “This business isn’t you,” she is learning to tell herself. Recipes in “Baking at the 20th Century Cafe” range from Ashkenazi Jewish cookies to Californian puddings, preserves, savory and sweet tarts and enough varieties of whipped cream to wear out a whisk. The instructions are descriptive and exact, heavy on butter and cornball jokes. Ms. Polzine swears the pastries are only hard to make the first time. You can stagger the steps over a few days. Like the Linzer torte here, most of her cakes only want for a dollop of whipped cream to serve at a party. Or why wait for the party? When Ms. Polzine spots a gorgeous 1930s dress, she comes up with a reason to show it off. “Make the cake you want,” she writes in the book, “and the occasion will happen!”



► Find Ms. Polzine’s recipe for chestnut-apple Linzer torte at [wsj.com/food](https://www.wsj.com/food).

Linzer Torte
Cranberry-pomegranate jam is Ms. Polzine’s clever Californian substitute for European red currant.
Total Time 4 hours **Serves** 12

For the faux red currant jam:
2 cups fresh or frozen cranberries
1½ cups sugar
1½ cups unsweetened pomegranate juice

For the torte:
1½ cups all-purpose flour
1½ teaspoons cocoa powder
1 teaspoon ground cinnamon
½ teaspoon kosher salt
½ cup almond flour
18 tablespoons unsalted butter,

at room temperature, plus more for greasing pan
¾ cup plus 1 tablespoon sugar
Grated zest of 1 lemon
2 large eggs, hard-boiled
1 large egg, beaten, for egg wash
2 teaspoons sugar for dusting

1. Make the faux red currant jam: In a medium saucepan, combine berries, sugar and pomegranate juice. Bring to a boil over medium-high heat, skimming foam from surface. Reduce heat and simmer until cranberries pop. Whisk vigorously to break up berries.
2. Cook jam until bubbles on top are small and glossy or mixture registers 221 degrees on a thermometer, 10-15 minutes. Remove from oven, pour

into a heat-proof bowl and let cool.
3. Make the crust: Generously butter a 10-inch fluted tart pan with a removable bottom.
4. In a medium bowl, sift together flour, cocoa powder, cinnamon and salt. Stir in almond flour.
5. Use an electric mixer to cream butter, sugar and lemon zest on medium-high until fluffy, about 3 minutes. Remove yolks from hard-boiled eggs and press through a fine-mesh sieve. (Save whites for another use.) Add yolks to butter and mix on medium-high 30 seconds. Add dry ingredients all at once and pulse until dough is homogeneous.
6. Divide dough into 2 uneven pieces. The smaller one should weigh 6 ounces. Wrap each piece tightly in

plastic wrap and refrigerate at least 20 minutes.
7. Roll larger piece of dough between two sheets of plastic wrap into a 12-inch circle. Peel off top piece of plastic. Pick up dough, invert into tart pan and peel off remaining plastic. Fold excess dough into sides, then use your thumb to smooth top edge of dough. Freeze or chill pan 1 hour.
8. Meanwhile, roll smaller piece of dough between two sheets of parchment into an oval ⅞ inch thick and 10 inches across. Transfer dough in parchment to a sheet pan and refrigerate until cold, 10 minutes.
9. Peel top piece of parchment from oval of dough and use a sharp knife or pastry wheel to cut dough into strips ½ inch wide. Return to fridge.

10. Assemble and bake: Preheat oven to 325 degrees and set a rack in lower third. Remove tart pan from freezer or refrigerator and spoon in 2 cups jam, spreading evenly.
11. Brush each dough strip with egg wash. Carefully lay strips, egg-washed side up, across top of tart to create a lattice. (Don’t bother weaving. Dough will melt together.)
12. Sprinkle top of torte with sugar. Set pan on a sheet pan and pop into oven on bottom rack. Bake until filling bubbles in center and lattice colors, 45-50 minutes. Let cool on a wire rack. Unmold and transfer to a serving plate.
—Adapted from “Baking at the 20th Century Cafe” by Michelle Polzine (Artisan)

SLOW FOOD FAST / SATISFYING AND SEASONAL FOOD IN ABOUT 30 MINUTES



The Chef Donny Sirisavath

His Restaurant
Khao Noodle Shop
in Dallas

What He’s Known For Thai and Lao street food and noodle dishes inspired by the foods he grew up on. Spinning a buzzy series of pop-up dinners into an award-winning restaurant.

Chicken and Dill Stew With Eggplant and Squash

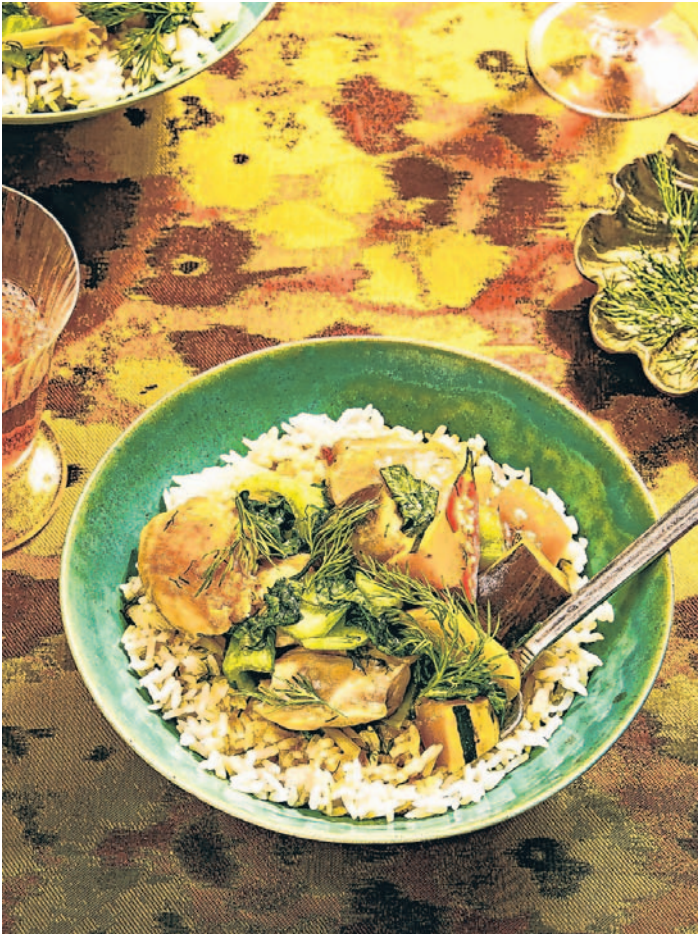
LIKE MANY of the dishes at Khao Noodle Shop, in Dallas, this stew has been a favorite of chef Donny Sirisavath’s since childhood. “It’s a fall dish. It warms your stomach,” he said. “It’s also really comforting to me because it reminds me of my mom.” Mr. Sirisavath’s third Slow Food Fast recipe begins with a quick sauté of chicken thighs, lemongrass, ginger and makrut lime leaves. Galangal root is optional here but brings a wonderful peppery note. Next the chicken simmers with eggplant, bok choy and squash. Butternut, acorn or even summer squash will work here. The

sauce is fragrant with dill; a little cornstarch does wonders for the consistency. “It should be velvety but not too thick,” Mr. Sirisavath said. “A little thinner than a roux.” Mr. Sirisavath has a smart tip for the eggplant, too. “We always soak it before cooking, even if it’s just for a bit. It makes it less stringy,” he said. He recommends tasting as you go, adjusting the seasonings to allow the lively lemongrass and makrut lime to shine through. “It should be fresh and earthy,” he said. Topped with more dill and served with rice, it’s a one-pot meal to brighten the long, chilly nights ahead. —*Kitty Greenwald*

Total Time 30 minutes
Serves 4
1 small eggplant, cut into 1-inch cubes
2 quarts plus ¼ cup water, plus more for soaking
3 tablespoons vegetable oil
2 pounds boneless chicken thighs, cut in 1-inch pieces
3 cloves garlic, smashed
6-inch lemongrass stalk, thinly sliced
6-inch piece fresh ginger, thinly sliced
3-inch piece galangal root, thinly sliced (optional)
3 tablespoons makrut lime leaves, thinly sliced
2 Thai chiles, halved
½ cup fish sauce

¼ cup oyster sauce
2 tablespoons sugar
1 pound squash such as butternut, peeled and cut into ½-inch cubes
2 heads baby bok choy, stems thinly sliced
1 tablespoon cornstarch
1 cup finely chopped dill, plus more for garnish
2 scallions, thinly sliced
Cooked sticky or jasmine rice, for serving
1. In a bowl, soak eggplant cubes in water at least 5 minutes. Drain.
2. Heat oil in a medium pot over medium-high heat. Add chicken, skin-side down, and cook until skin browns, about

5 minutes. Flip chicken and add garlic, lemongrass, ginger, galangal, if using, makrut leaves and Thai chiles. Sauté until aromatic, 2-3 minutes. Add 2 quarts water, fish sauce, oyster sauce and sugar. Bring to a simmer and stir in drained eggplant, squash and bok choy.
3. In a small bowl combine cornstarch and ¼ cup water. Stir cornstarch mixture and dill into stew. Continue cooking until chicken cooks through, about 15 minutes more. Stir in scallions.
4. Ladle stew into shallow bowls. Garnish with more dill and serve with rice.



GREEN, LIGHT Plenty of fresh dill, in the sauce and as a garnish, makes this a remarkably fresh and vibrant fall stew.

EATING & DRINKING

MARKET STRATEGY

The New To-Go

As chefs reimagine takeout for a new era, prepared foods are the order of the day

By Jane Black

ON A WEEKEND evening in May, Marian Wiggins, an accountant in Arlington, Va., managed to pull off a date night with her husband. True, they stayed at home, but it felt like a real occasion. On the menu: Greek salad; phyllo pastries stuffed with feta, sesame and local honey; lamb meatballs; roasted shrimp with capers and tomatoes; and baklava. Best of all, it took the couple a mere 20 minutes to get it on the table.

The feast came from Neighborhood Provisions, a pantry and prepared-foods delivery service created this spring by the Washington, D.C.-based Neighborhood Restaurant Group. In addition to three-course “date night” meals, Neighborhood Provisions offers soups, make-your-own pizza kits, baked goods, bottled cocktails and more. Ms. Wiggins—who admits to having been a bit of a homebody even before the coronavirus pandemic hit—is a regular. “In terms of food, for us, it’s what we’ve always wanted,” she said.

“Restaurant food at home” isn’t a marketing slogan anymore. It’s reality. Forced to pivot to survive in the face of the pandemic, restaurants are producing a new profusion of top-quality ready-to-eat foods for pickup and delivery.

This isn’t takeout as we have previously known it, the usual plated entrees that don’t travel especially well. Instead, think family-size, heat-and-eat dishes and gourmet meal kits. In New York, chef Missy Robbins is hawking heat-and-eat porchetta and jars of grilled, marinated broccoli rabe. San Francisco wine bar Verjus has morphed into a market offering Paris-worthy *pâté en croûte* and duck confit. In Minneapolis, Grand Café sells kits that provide a week’s worth of meals, including a caviar brunch.

Along the way, the new offerings are redefining the way restaurants do business. It turns out prepared foods can help prop up the restaurants’ traditional business model. “We knew within a month that this was a business on its own,” said Amber Pfau, chief strategy officer for Neighborhood Restaurant Group, which had 22 restaurants when the pandemic hit. “No matter what happens with the restaurants, this is part of our future.”

In March, as stay-at-home orders rolled out across the country, Kevin Callaghan, chef/owner of Acme Food and Beverage in Carrboro, N.C., considered takeout. But he suspected that his and other businesses could do better if they banded together. So he and a group of chefs and other food producers combined efforts in



SHELL GAME This crawfish boil ‘Party in a Box’ was among the recent items available for prepaid pickup from Grand Café in Minneapolis.

lin, director of NC Choices, a sustainable-food initiative at North Carolina State University, and a mother of two small children. “A lot of us don’t have child care, and yet we can’t bring our kids into places. With Carrboro United, I can have my little ones stay in their car seats, drive through to pick up produce directly from farms, other grocery items and a prepared meal.”

Like Mr. Callaghan, Jamie Malone of Grand Café in Minneapolis is looking for ways to create a better quality of life for herself and her staff. “To run a restaurant six, seven nights a week is exhausting for any team,” she said. “Prepared food is not exactly passive income, but it feels pretty easy compared to what it takes to serve dinner at a table in a restaurant.”

Think family-size, heat-and-eat dishes and gourmet meal kits.

Grand Café’s Big Kit provides, for \$360, breakfast, lunch, dinner and a midnight snack for two people for a whole week. Also included are a few extras Ms. Malone said “make life suck a little bit less”: flowers, a candle, even an online flower-arranging class. Grand Café has also added à la carte options for ordering individual meals. Ms. Malone said these options bring in about \$10,000 a week and have kept five people on staff.

Some chefs point out that prepared foods are no panacea for an industry in crisis. Cheetie Kumar, chef/owner of Garland in Raleigh, NC., was offering meal kits with dishes like watermelon chaat and coconut shrimp and green beans. But she hated the wasteful packaging, and once the restaurant reopened for patio dining there wasn’t space in the kitchen to do it all. Still, she predicted, “We will bring some part of it back by Thanksgiving.”

It remains to be seen which of these new options will endure long-term, but it’s a good bet many of them are here to stay. As Ms. Pfau of Neighborhood Restaurant Group sees it, “The reason this will remain past the pandemic is that we’ve created a new consumer behavior.”

Carrboro United: a one-stop shop for produce, fresh meat and prepared meals, ordered online and available for pickup in a shared location three times a week. Customers can order, say, boeuf bourguignon for four from Beau Catering, two dozen eggs from Latta’s Egg Ranch and a pizza kit from Amante Gourmet Pizza. Then, they drive up and masked workers bring orders to their cars. “Restaurants provide hospitality. One piece of that is convenience and

one piece is service,” Mr. Callaghan said. “It had to be easy for the guests. There was no way it was going to work if it was hard.”

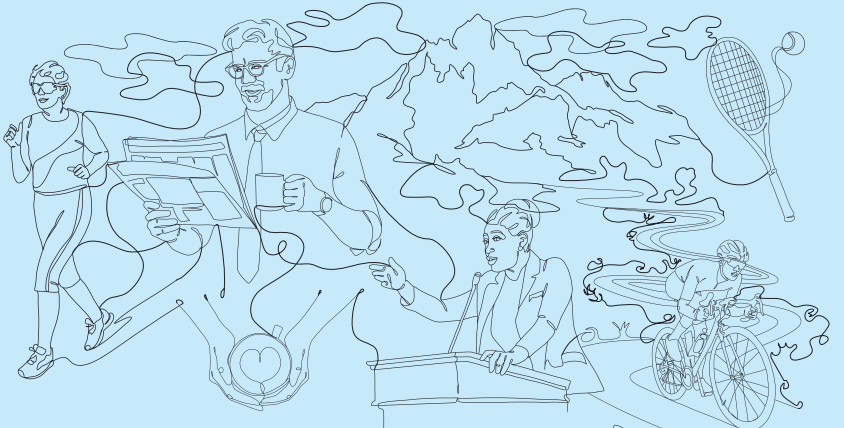
The profits on prepared foods can be higher than with traditional restaurant service, where chefs must estimate how many tables they will serve in a night and who will order what. In the Carrboro United model, advance ordering removes the guesswork. “It’s more like catering. You know you have

50 people and you need 50 steaks, so there’s less waste,” Mr. Callaghan said. The added income and a new way to reach customers allowed Acme to offer all staff a living wage, a guaranteed \$15 per hour, starting in September.

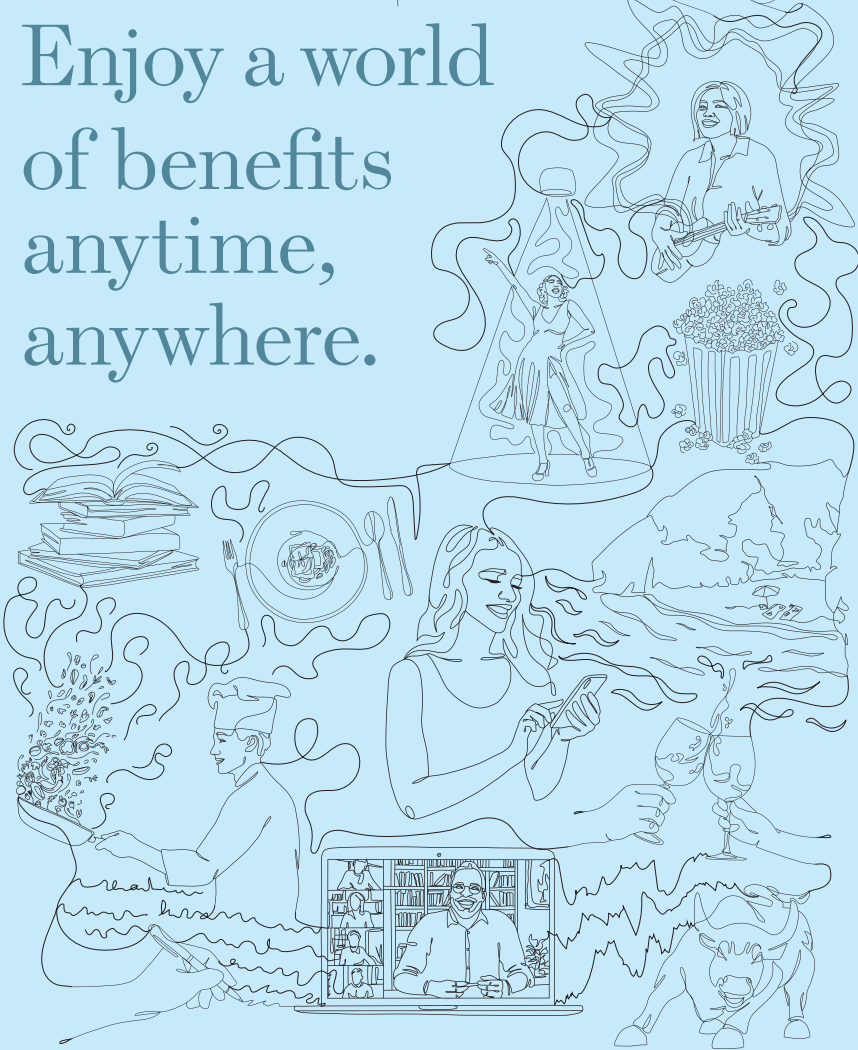
As many as 15 restaurants now participate in Carrboro United, and the service inspired another hub in the nearby town of Cary. “During the pandemic, every aspect of life is more challenging,” said Sarah Black-



SHOP CLASS
In addition to meal kits and prepared foods, Neighborhood Provisions in Washington, D.C., sells restaurant-quality ingredients like this pasta for patrons to put to use in their own kitchens.



Enjoy a world of benefits anytime, anywhere.



Experience the events, offers and insights included with your membership to The Wall Street Journal. Sign in at **WSJplus.com**



POWER TOOL

Precision Drizzling

Bring finesse to finishing a dish or swirling extra-virgin into a pan with this elegant olive oil can



COOKING DURING QUARANTINE has made many of us rethink the way we equip our kitchens. Preparing multiple meals a day, seven days a week means going through a lot more olive oil, for one thing. When you reach for the bottle so frequently, it gets cumbersome to unscrew the cap every time you want to drizzle oil into a hot skillet, onto a sheet pan or over a bowl of greens. Constant cooking calls for the convenience of a cruet, ready to pour at a moment’s notice. The classic 1-liter stainless-steel pitcher made by Ilsa, the kitchenware manufacturer in northern Spain, possesses a long, slender spout that releases a ready, steady stream

of oil with just a tilt of the handle, drip-free. A secure snap-on cap further ensures that there are no accidents. The stainless steel container not only looks sleek, it helps protect olive oil from oxidation, keeping it fresher longer. For those short on counter space, the cruet also comes in ½-liter and ¼-liter sizes. *\$50 for the 1-liter can, flotsa-mandfork.com* —Gabriella Gershenson

DESIGN & DECORATING



START WITH ART
A big shot of flora or fauna telegraphs a love of nature in all its greenness. If you crave the impact of her husband's buggy photo, Ms. Hume suggests photographer Paul Lange's large-scale work as an option. She said she's placed it in projects for "an instant something," and would hang two of his photos side by side, including "Jane," 2018 (above), \$3,500, paul-lange.com



COLLECT BROADLY
"Shopping in markets here is like a sport," said Ms. Hume of the South of France, the main source for her pottery collection. Though her ceramics adhere to a tight palette, she avoids color overkill with a range of finishes, from glossy glazes to the sunbaked look of this Verdigris Twisted Vase, \$300, ci-daughters.com.



PAINT IT BLACK
An early 1960s captain's chair from the Netherlands blends tradition and modernity in a dark finish, and plays a supporting role in the room's color story. Its spindles echo the stripes of the wool flatweave rugs. For an American version of the seat, try the Senate Chair, from \$2,800, sawkille.com.

BRIGHTEN UP
The oak coffee table provides an expanse of blond wood in a room whose décor, despite copious sunshine and white walls, tends toward the dark side. Plus, said Ms. Hume, "It's big enough to have display [on it] and still have cocktails." For your spread, try De La Espada's Armstrong Coffee Table by Matthew Hilton, from \$2,085, thefutureperfect.com.



ANATOMY LESSON



FIRE UP A SCULPTURE
The bronze of the candelabra adds another material to the mix, one that is softer and more expressive than other metals, said Ms. Hume. Designed by Mr. Van der Heijden, the fixture stands nearly 30 inches high. Berlin Bronze Candle Holder, Heijden Hume, \$4,860, 31-20-625-3522



LIGHT A MISMATCH
Handmade black-and-white lamps ("possibly African") flank the sofa. "They're not identical," she said. Their imperfection adds to the earthiness of the room. The pattern, like the print on the shades' fabric, from London's Neisha Crosland, is softly geometric. Try these Black & White Painted Ceramic Table Lamps, \$1,795, chairish.com.

Dominant Green

How to indulge your love of a color without looking obsessive

By CATHERINE ROMANO

I T DIDN'T START as a plan at all," said Kate Hume of the predominantly green palette in the living room of her family's vacation home. That said, the Amsterdam-based interior designer admits she might have been unconsciously influenced by the view of trees and open field provided by the windows of the house, located in the Quercy region of France. Next month, the eclectic room will appear in "Élan: The Interior Design of Kate Hume," written with Linda O'Keeffe

and photographed by Ms. Hume's husband, Frans van der Heijden (*Rizzoli*). Its décor came together over years, said Ms. Hume, the green theme gradually emerging—punctuated by touches of yellow and turquoise. Brown, black and white fill in as leavening neutrals, and a blend of textures and styles further layers the room. Key ingredients: matte and gloss pottery both naive and sophisticated; modern rattan; rigid oak; a monumental photograph by Mr. Van der Heijden of leaf insects' mottled wings. "A house can evolve," said Ms. Hume. But if one wants to feature a favorite color, some principles need to be applied.

GO FOR BAROQUE BUT COMFY

Ms. Hume set the sofa in front of a console—"more interesting than just having it against the wall," she said. Its Knole style and linen damask add a bit of fancy, but its size and the fabric's frilly-but-not-too-frilly pattern suit a second home. Ms. Hume describes it as "a posh country sofa." Create your own cushy cocoon with these elements: John Sofa, from \$5,550, bunnywilliamshome.com; Kravet 34719 135 Fabric, \$112 per yard, decoratorsbest.com



FLOWER SCHOOL

Blooms With a View

Floral designer **Lindsey Taylor** takes her inspiration from a painting by Lois Dodd that brings the Maine outdoors inside

AFTER A RECENT trip to Maine's craggy coast, I wanted to find out more about the artists who have been drawn to the state's unpredictable landscape—and unpredictable weather. Scouring the website of the Farnsworth Art Museum in Rockland, one of Maine's leading institutions, felt a little like being up there again. I was struck by the loose, no-frills painting style and glowy, confident colors of Lois Dodd's "The Painted Room" (1982), and immediately seized on it as my inspiration for this month's arrangement. Ms. Dodd (b. 1927) depicts her bedroom in Cushing, Maine, where she has lived part-time since the '70s, specifically its hand-painted wall mural, and view of the woods through the window. Ms. Dodd has a knack, visible in much of her work, of blurring the indoors with the outdoors. I started with a charcoal vessel to pick up the color of the tree

trunks on the wall, then added another taller, earthenware-colored vase to echo the painting's verticality. I sourced the flowers from a friend's nearby garden, imagining that the plot reflected the forest just outside Ms. Dodd's window. I

THE INSPIRATION



'The Painted Room' (1982) by Lois Dodd, at the Farnsworth Museum

first combined large, butter-colored dahlias that seemed quite Dodd-ish with equally saturated yellow pompom dahlias that brought the canvas's wispy yellow curtains to life. To stand in for the painting's grassy greens, I left on a marigold and coreopsis's foliage. My star, however, was a handful of dahlias whose deep, salmon-y red matched a section of Ms. Dodd's wall. Yet another dahlia with hints of pink and yellow was my way of acknowledging the brushwork's subtle tonal shifts. Finally, I popped in a white gerbera daisy, letting it poke out from the vase as incongruously as the exposed lightbulb in Ms. Dodd's scene. My goal was to capture the confidence and immediacy of the painting. By briskly cutting the stems to irregular lengths and placing them in the vessels without fuss, I aspired to achieve a similarly relaxed mood. I hope Lois Dodd agrees.

THE ARRANGEMENT

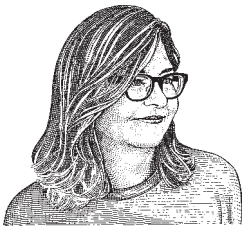


From left: Charcoal Tracie Hervy vessel, writer's own; Tall Brown Novah Pitcher, \$50, bloomist.com.

DESIGN & DECORATING



MICHELLE SLATALLA / A MATTER OF LIFE AND DÉCOR



Oh, to Recover a Chair Now That 25 Swatches Are Here

THE OTHER DAY my friend Stephanie found me sitting on the floor dazed and surrounded by dozens of fabric swatches that I had dealt out onto the carpet like a pack of playing cards: gray mohair, linen embroidered with botanical motifs, cottons with colorful ikat patterns. “Are you OK?” she asked, concerned.

“I’m trying to pick a fabric to reupholster this old armchair,” I said. “Do you want some help?” asked Stephanie, who is an interior designer.

“No, I’ve got this—it’s just one chair,” I said bravely, because I am not the sort of moocher who tries to get free advice from her friends. Even though I once helped her make tiny egg-salad sandwiches for a baby shower she co-hosted. For 35 people. Friends don’t keep score.

Truthfully, though, I wasn’t so sure someone like me should be buying a \$300-a-yard fabric without consulting a professional.

People have been facing this same decorating dilemma ever since upholstered furniture became a craze among wealthy Elizabethans in the 16th century. These

days, however, you can shop online for many fine materials that once were sold only to the trade. On one hand, this gives amateur decorators like me a heady sense of possibility. But going it alone could also lead to a costly mistake.

“How do people do it?” I asked Anthony Barzilay Freund, director of fine art and editorial for online

I wasn’t so sure someone like me should be buying a \$300-a-yard fabric without consulting a professional.

furniture site 1stDibs, which sells a lot of armchairs to customers who fearlessly reupholster them.

“We sometimes see these psychological hurdles with customers, but more people are realizing it’s really not that difficult,” he said.

In fact, this year 1stDibs has seen a sharp increase—28%—in sales of high-quality vintage and antique furniture pieces that cus-

tomers are buying with the intent to reupholster. Increasingly shoppers realize the value of reusing, recycling and reupholstering furniture, he said. “Instead of buying something generic or from a chain store, people are appreciating things that have lasted for 50 years and have another 50 in them,” Mr. Barzilay Freund said.

“Do you have any tips for picking fabrics?” I asked.

“Neutrals are popular right now, and a good choice, because they let the overall form of a chair speak for itself without being distracting,” he said. “We’re noticing that people are reupholstering older pieces in whites, grays, bouclés and sheepskins.”

Sheepskin? No, thank you. But now that he mentioned it, my collection of swatches included quite a few whites, grays and bouclés. Maybe I should eliminate bright colors and patterns from consideration to make the process easier?

“No!” said Sasha Bikoff, an interior designer in New York who also sells antique and vintage upholstered furniture. “Prints and color are what bring joy and life into a home.”

“I definitely want joy and life in my home,” I agreed, “but I already have a rug with a floral pattern, and I don’t want the armchair to clash.”

“There’s a formula to adding pattern to a room,” Ms. Bikoff said. “You need to balance solids and patterns. Start with a solid sofa, and then add either patterned drapery or a pattern on one or two small chairs. Then do a solid coffee table, and then a patterned rug.”

The key to creating harmony among patterns, she said, is to choose fabrics that echo another element—a color, a shape, artwork—in the room.

After I got off the phone, I went back to the living room to study my swatches. Following Ms. Bikoff’s tips, I narrowed my choices. I zeroed in on a pattern with leaves similar in shape and size to the motifs in my floral-scroll rug and an abstract-patterned linen whose blue nodded to a painting over the mantelpiece...and 23 other fabrics I also liked.

OK, maybe I needed a little more help.

“How often do amateur decorators end up hating the fabric they choose?” I asked Barbara Karpf, president of online shop Decora-

tors Best, which sells 150,000 different kinds of fabrics.

“The only time we have a problem is if someone doesn’t order a sample first,” she said.

“I think I have samples of almost all 150,000 of your fabrics,” I said.

“People sometimes order a bigger piece of fabric so they can really see how it looks draped over a chair,” she said. “We had a client who kept ordering one-yard pieces of things. She ended up using some of those on throw pillows.”

But if I ordered one-yard lengths of the 25 fabrics I was considering, at an average price of \$150 a yard, that would end up costing...oh dear.

“Do you offer design advice to customers?” I asked.

“We give general information, but since I’m not in their home working with them, it’s almost irresponsible, I think, to give specific advice,” Mrs. Karpf said.

Maybe what I needed was an interior designer who charges an hourly fee to work on a very, very small project. Online service Thumbtack lists thousands of professionals nationwide for jobs that range from plumbing to painting to lawn care. In my ZIP Code, there were dozens of interior designers available, at prices ranging from \$35 to \$350 an hour.

I sent messages to three. Within 24 hours, I heard back from one.

“Send me please some images of space required to be design,” she wrote.

While this message, which struck me as formulaic and impersonal, did not sound entirely promising, I was getting desperate.

I was snapping photos of my living room, swatch collection included, when my friend Stephanie stopped by.

“What is going on in here?” she asked, horrified as she surveyed the situation.

“I am having a little trouble choosing fabric,” I said. Admittedly, by now the living room looked as chaotic as a serial killer’s mood board.

Stephanie sighed. “Why do you have two identical swatches of this charcoal gray mohair?” she asked, reaching down to pluck them off the floor.

“I ordered so many I may have gotten confused,” I said.

“Actually, it looks like they are from different dye lots,” she said. “So you need to call and make sure you can order the one that is the darker shade. It will look great with the rug and your leather sofa, and won’t show paw prints when the dogs jump up.”

“What about the slipper chair in the corner?” I asked.

“A small print that picks up the oatmeal color in the rug would be good,” she said.

Relief flooded over me. She was so right!

Is this a solution for everyone? Not everybody has an interior designer friend to solve the problem. But we all have a friend with a really good eye and a house we admire.

Those egg salad sandwiches were so worth it.

FAST FIVE

Heed a Higher Power

Who couldn’t use a little lift these days? These step stools—from modest boosters to lanky ladders—give you a leg up with style.



Bottega Ghianda Scaletta Pieghevole Ladder, \$2,940, artemest.com



Brian Persico Sugar Maple Steps, from \$1,050, marchsf.com



Million Arise Stool, from \$475, aplusrstore.com



Auerberg AEKI Stool by Gerry Kellermann, \$245, connox.com



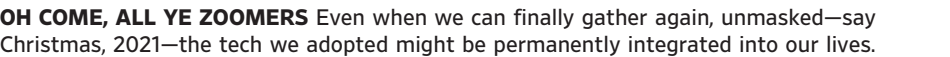
3-Step Ladder Conran Blue, about \$430, conranshop.co.uk

Market edit: Kelly Michèle Guerotto



Sing the Praises Of New Tech

7. VIDEO DATING BECAME ROUTINE. Dating sites quickly rolled out (or beefed up) in-app video features, letting users meet face-to-face or play icebreaker games without springing for an Uber or paying \$18 for wa-



8. WE HIGH-TECH FLEXED AT HOME. With gyms closed nationwide and enough bread being baked to briefly cause a nationwide yeast

‘Changes in attitudes that might have taken place over the next 5 years have taken place in just the last 5 months.’

shortage, housebound Americans needed ways to burn off the estimated 1,909 calories in that whole wheat sourdough loaf (as per food app Nutritionix). Peloton's active-user count more than doubled in 2020, from 1.4 million before the pandemic hit to 3.1 million. That's a lot of demand for its on-demand spin classes. Users upped their workout frequency, too, from 12 per machine per month last year to 24.7 in 2020. The Mirror, a giant vertical screen that

lets you enter workout classes and dial-up live personal trainers, said it's seen a five-fold jump with the under-20 crowd this year.

9. AND WORKOUT CLASSES WENT ONLINE. Those who don't have the space for gym equipment still logged into classes via video platforms like Instagram Live and Vimeo. Studios like Good Day Pilates in Manhattan added streaming options for their clients for \$20 a week. "Pivoting online has been extremely valuable, giving us newfound flexibility and reach through an additional platform," said founder Clara Baini, who added that she plans to continue offering on-demand classes even as cities continue to lift restrictions.

10. FAMILIES FOUND NEW HOMES WITHOUT EVER STEPPING FOOT IN THEM.

Though the world pushed “pause” in March, many people still had to—or chose to—change addresses. After first relying on shoddy video taken by tenants, landlords turned to companies like SmartRent, which, in a pivot, began recreating self-guided interactive tours of living spaces so prospective lessees could safely explore at a distance. More than 33,000 families have toured spaces using SmartRent in 2020.

11. WE FLED SUBWAYS FOR E-BIKES. Mass transit ridership plummeted by as much as 96% in cities like New York and Washington, D.C., in March and April. Meanwhile, sales of

single-rider electric vehicles skyrocketed. Dutch e-bikes brand Vanmoof saw sales spike by 397% world-wide and 91% in the U.S. starting in April, compared to the previous year, during what the brand's spokesperson Barry Bracken called a "mainstreaming moment" for the two-wheelers. "Changes in attitudes that might have taken place over the next 5 years have taken place in just the last 5 months," he said.

12. WE ORDERED IN COMPULSIVELY. To keep our favorite restaurants afloat during the crisis (and avoid sparring in grocery aisles) delivery and takeout through Grubhub brands increased by 32% in the wake of the March lockdown with “millions of new diners trying Grubhub for the first time,” noted Sam Hall, the brand’s chief product officer. America’s most popular item? Spicy chicken sandwiches, for which orders shot up a whopping 299% compared to the first half of last year, according to Grubhub’s annual State of the Plate report. Maybe less surprising is the app’s top search term for 2020: “wine.”

13. EATING OUT WENT HIGH-TECH, TOO.

When able to reopen, restaurant owners swapped germy menus for placards with unique QR codes that customers could scan with their smartphone cameras to gain immediate access to the eateries' websites. Many spots like *Paulie Gee's* pizzeria in Brooklyn have become almost entirely contactless: Its in-house customers order and pay via smartphones; all the masked staff has to do is drop off drinks and pies and wipe down tables.

14. DIGITAL PAYMENTS HIT A TIPPING POINT.

QR codes have also helped facilitate contactless payments. Scan them in apps like PayPal or Venmo—which saw a 52% increase in Q2 of this year—to quickly bring up profiles for the vendors and friends you want to pay. No need to interact with strange surfaces. Tap payments are also up in 2020, according to Mastercard. A survey it conducted earlier this year found that 46% of respondents are updating to tappable credit cards, seen as cleaner and faster than inserting or swiping.

15. WE DOWNLOADED MORE BOOKS... While most U.S. book stores were temporarily closed this summer, e-book sales climbed quickly, increasing by as much as 39% in June compared to the same time last year, according to Good E-Reader. This jump is largely buoyed by a 132.5% increase in sales of children's and young adult titles. And while libraries locked their doors, borrowing e-books via Kindle or popular reading apps has risen 52% in 2020, per the e-book company OverDrive.

16. ...AND WATCHED MORE TV THAN EVER BEFORE. Thanks to the launch of new services like Peacock and HBO Max, and the reliability of a good old Netflix binge, connected TV viewing is up 81% year over year. That means American households watched 4 billion more hours of television in 2020 versus 2019, according to Nielsen. We apparently wanted a bigger “Big Bang Theory” bang: Sales of screens 65 inches and up soared 77% between April and June, compared with the same time a year ago, reported research firm NPD Group.

17. FILMS PREMIERED IN OUR FAMILY ROOMS. While popular movie franchises like James Bond and the Fast and the Furious shelved their 2020 installments until further notice, family films like Disney's "Mulan" were beamed straight to our home sets to feed our collective need for content fresher than "Chopped" marathons. While "Mulan" bombed amid its rushed Disney+ debut, grossing well less than half of its \$200 million budget, "Trolls World Tour" broke digital box office records in April, bringing in \$77 million domestic in its first week.

18. WE DITCHED DISKS FOR DOWNLOADS.

Across the video-game industry, sales of downloadable titles surpassed physical disks for the first time, earning \$82.8 billion through August, according to Nielsen's SuperData. That's before the new Xbox and PlayStation consoles are released in November. Meanwhile, Nintendo's Switch console, which is already 3 years old, celebrated a record spike in August, with sales shooting up 37% over the same month last year. Both the machine and its popular game "Animal Crossing: New Horizons" briefly sold out at many online marketplaces.

19. WE TAPPED TO BUY TAPIOCA. E-commerce shot up across the board, with Nike CEO John Donahoe stating that, “Digital is fueling how we create the future of retail,” after the brand’s online sales rose 82% in 2020’s first fiscal quarter. Grocery sales through apps and websites saw one of the most significant upticks. According to online research firms Click Meets Brick and Mercatus, the number of people shopping for ingredients and snacks online nearly tripled compared with last summer, and in June on-line grocery sales increased to \$7.2 billion, up from \$1.2 billion in June of 2019.

20. WE TRAVELED...DIFFERENTLY. With international restrictions in place, those fueled by wanderlust took virtual walks atop the Great Wall of China, around Easter Island's heads or through the Van Gogh Museum in Amsterdam. Some 2.2 million people have found inspiration or solace in photos posted on the Facebook group "View From My Window," where members can share shots of the beautiful sites they spy everyday. Others hopped aboard "flights to nowhere" that took off and landed in the same spot after a few hours in the air—OK, maybe some trends won't last forever.

JOÃO FAZENDA (ILLUSTRATION)

GEAR & GADGETS



Don't Sunset Your Old iPhone

Have your eye on Apple's latest offering? No need to banish an old device to the junk drawer. Instead, repurpose its power and give it a new life.

TAKE YOUR BEST SHOT
An image from the 2015 Sundance festival hit 'Tangerine,' shot on a trio of iPhone 5S devices.

By Rachel Wolfe

IF YOUR SMARTPHONE is shattered or short-circuiting, you can guiltlessly put it out of its misery and upgrade to the new iPhone 12. If, however, your old device is just a little passe, upgrading might leave you feeling conflicted. Are you really going to bury it alive? Matty Benedetto, founder of the popular “Unnecessary Inventions” YouTube series, is eyeing alternatives. To motivate himself out of bed, he said, he’s considering stashing his old iPhone across the room as a backup alarm clock. Or, using it as a recipe reader to avoid coating his sparkling new device in cumin. More ambitiously, he wants to test the old phone’s water-resistance by using it as a shower speaker. Here, seven other ways to avoid being haunted by iPhones past.

Keep Your Media Libraries Secure
What’s an old iPhone if not a 64-,

128- or 256-GB hard drive? Malta-based site manager Adam Lumb keeps music backed up on a 32-GB phone as a way to safeguard songs from his youth—ones by local bands he bought on CDs, now largely unavailable on Spotify. “In most cases I have lost or broken the CDs, so it helps me guarantee that my library of old songs isn’t lost,” he said.

Combat a Source of Travel Anxiety
If you’ve ever been pickpocketed in Rome or left your bag on a U-Bahn in Berlin, you know how quickly a lost phone ruins a vacation. Annalisa Nash Fernandez, a tech strategist in Greenwich, Conn., always keeps an old phone in her suitcase. “Buy a SIM card from a newspaper stand in Madrid and your future is reinstated,” she said. “It restores lost access to your money, your reservations and your contacts.”

Disconnect, Sort Of
After enduring a bad bout of WFH

Zoom fatigue, New York economist Will Stewart decided to try using an old iPhone 5S phone to dial into the majority of his calls camera-free. By retreating to the roof with a device that doesn’t constantly ping him with notifications, he’s found it’s been “surprisingly helpful in restoring energy during meeting-heavy days.”

Watch Out for Intruders
Instead of installing a pricey security system that beeps and blurts every time you leave your home,



MORE THAN MEETS THE EYE
Slide on the Razer Kishi to transform an old iPhone into a dedicated gaming machine. \$100, razer.com

mount your out-of-use phone on a tripod near your front door to monitor activity. Webcam apps like Alfred Home Security Camera (*premium for \$30/year*) can channel what they see to your new iPhone 12 and send motion alerts while you’re away without taking up storage space. The same apps can also function as higher-tech baby monitors than the static-y monstrosities of the past.

Become a Visual Artist
To shoot photos and videos like a pro, use an old iPhone as a separate viewing screen. Just attach the phone to a rotating gimbal and connect it via dongle to your digital camera. “The screen is tilted at an angle that makes for easier viewing [than cameras offer],” said Karl Robinson, an amateur photographer in East Sussex, U.K. The iPhone 11’s powerful 12-megapixel camera can also find its way into the grubby hands of a kid who wants to film a TikTok dance.

Hand It Down
Parents who want to keep track of their children but aren’t ready to invest in a kid-friendly Firefly phone can give their offspring an old device stocked with apps like TextNow that keep lines of communication open without a phone plan. And unlike WhatsApp, TextNow doesn’t require a Wi-Fi connection to work (*ad-free version for \$8/month*).

Up Your Phone Game
Evolved beyond Tetris? Phone-gripping devices like the Razer Kishi (*left, \$100, razer.com*) feature buttons and analog sticks to transform an old smartphone into a hand-held gaming machine akin to a Nintendo Switch. Prefer Xbox-level controllers? The Nimbus+ (*\$70, steelseries.com*) has a familiar configuration that lets you enjoy retro-style games like “Crossy Road Castle” on Apple Arcade.

Dan Neil is off this week.

The Wall Street Journal is not compensated by retailers listed in its articles as outlets for products. Listed retailers frequently are not the sole retail outlets.

MANSION GLOBALCOLLECTIONS

EXPERIENCE LUXURY

Ski & Mountain Edition

Showcase your beautiful ski and mountain listings alongside content featuring the irresistibility of the luxurious slope-side lifestyle with **Mansion Global Experience Luxury Collections: The Ski & Mountain Home edition.**

Inserted into The Wall Street Journal's Weekend edition, and distributed exclusively to the most affluent subscriber ZIP codes, the special edition featuring your property will reach top buyers who are in-market to buy their perfect ski home.

Close Date: November 2, 2020
Publish Date: December 5, 2020

FOR ADVERTISING OPPORTUNITIES, PLEASE CONTACT:
OLIVIA COTTRELL AT OLIVIA.COTTRELL@WSJBARRONS.COM

See the July 25th Edition here:
online.flippingbook.com/view/51581

"The response to the Highlands Sotheby's International Realty ads in the Mansion Global Luxury Insert has been off the charts!! Not only are we selling the properties advertised, we are compiling a list of prospects for future listings and exposure to our area. Best marketing money spent in 2020!!"

— Jody Lovell, Broker/Owner, Highlands Sotheby's International Realty



866-VUITTON louisvuitton.com

N.G. STUDIO. PARIS.

Nicolas Ghesquière

LOUIS VUITTON